Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-029 *13 February 1995*

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Military Delegation Concludes Talks in Turkey

AU1102214895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During its visit of several days to Turkey, our high-level military delegation presided over by the chief of the Army General Staff, General Sheme Kosova, engaged in numerous activities such as visits to military units, bases, and sites, as well as attended various exercises.

Gen. Kosova held meetings and conducted talks with his counterpart, Army General Ismail Karadayi, and Turkish Defense Minister Mehmet Golhan.

The two chiefs of staff exchanged and adopted the Tirana Document 1995, which underlines common supplementary measures of confidence and security and military contacts between the Republics of Albania and Turkey.

The military delegation returned home today.

Apart from military personalities, the Turkish ambassador in our country, Metin Ornekkol, also welcomed the delegation home.

Rugova Appeals Against Albanian Emigration

AU1302110895 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Feb 95 pp 1, 3

[Report on news conference by LDK leader Dr. Ibrahim Rugova in Prishtina on 10 February by Behxhet Haliti: "The Departure of Albanians From Kosova Aids Colonization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We appeal to the citizens of Kosova not to leave, not to help vacate Kosova and thus encourage colonization.

We have asked the Italian Government—and now do so again—to do its utmost to close the Bar-Bari ferry route whereby Kosova is being emptied. We also ask the UN Security Council to prevent this movement of people and this abuse of the Bar-Bari route.

These were the opening words of Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, at yesterday's regular news conference, at which he also commented on other topical issues and answered journalists' questions.

Repression in All Fields

Unfortunately, the Serbian regime's repression of Albanians has also this week concentrated on the outskirts of the towns and has been evident in various raids on the pretext of searching for weapons. There have been dozens of police raids in 19 communes and towns in Kosova. These raids are usually accompanied by mistreatment, vandalism, and arrests. The harassment of Albanian political activists, mainly those of the Democratic League of Kosovo [LDK], such as LDK Deputy Branch Chairman Shefqet Sakiraca near Podujeve, continued last week. Hysni Kilaj, LDK branch chairman in Malisheve and a deputy in the Kosova parliament, and deputy branch chairman Gani Krasniqi were detained by the police. Activists of the Mother Teresa Humanitarian Association were also harassed and the forced conscription of young Albanians into the Serbian army continues—such as the cases of Remzi Ehmeti from the village of Greme near Ferizaj; Bekim Memaj from Zhur; and Xhevat Mustata from Rimanishte, who was sentenced to prison and sent off to Belgrade.

The repression of Albanian schools has continued, President Rugova continued. There were police raids on the Frang Bardhi High School in Mitrovice and the elementary school at Staradran in Istog Commune. Apart from this, there were various cases of looting and other forms of raids on Kosova markets.

Dr. Rugova said: Bearing this situation in mind, we demand the release of all those convicted and also the former policemen of Kosova, i.e. all political prisoners.

President Rugova expressed condolences to the Bashota family from Cerovik near Kline following the death of Hysen Bashkota, deputy in the previous legislature of the Kosova assembly.

Colonization: A Campaign To Abuse Refugees

President Rugova again dwelt on the Serbian campaign that has been announced for the forcible colonization of Kosova. There has also been information of various kinds this week about the planned colonization: There are plans to allocate 40 building lots to Serbian colonists in several villages of Rahovec Commune [Orahovac]. It has been planned to distribute 25 lots to colonists in Ferizaj [Urosevac], 100 in Istog, and 330 in Suhareke. There are plans to distribute 126 hectares of land in Kacanik and to build 36 apartments in Dragash. This, President Rugova says, is a campaign to abuse refugees and Serbs who do not wish to live in Kosova. We ask the UNHCR not to become involved in the colonization of Kosova; the UNHCR can help refugees, but must not on any account participate in these plans of Serbia's.

Despite the repressive situation last week, Kosova has been at the center of international attention. Dr. Rugova welcomed the demand of Pax Christi International, which has called for self-determination for Kosova at the human rights conference now taking place in Geneva. He also welcomed the motion on Kosova in the Swedish parliament and a repeated statement by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, who said that both President Bush and President Clinton had been committed to the question of Kosova and feared greater conflicts in the Balkans.

As for a new international conference on the former Yugoslavia, much discussed in recent days, President Rugova spoke in favor of an international conference on the former Yugoslavia in which all the former federal units, including Kosova, take an equal part. Of course, all the international community's efforts are aimed at stopping the current war in Bosnia. However, a conference must be held that will settle all the problems of the former Yugoslavia.

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To conclude, President Rugova recalled 8 February 1945, when military rule was imposed on Kosova, during which about 50,000 people were killed. Unfortunately, he said, a similar situation threatens today, but we must do our utmost to prevent massacres of this kind happening in Kosova.

The Albanian Language Cannot Be Ignored in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]

Asked by a journalist to comment on the most recent session of the Macedonian parliament, which was suspended after Albanian deputies began to speak in Albanian from the podium, President Rugova said that the use of the Albanian language in the Macedonian parliament is a legal question. He asked the Macedonian parliament to permit the use of Albanian at its sessions, because Albanian is a language of communication in Macedonia and cannot be ignored. We view this as an endeavor by Albanian deputies to change the situation for the better and to achieve equality for the Albanian language in the Macedonian parliament, too.

Asked by a journalist about predictions that the Albanians might resign from the Macedonian parliament, Rugova called for talks and agreements to overcome this parliamentary crisis, if it can be called this, because the most important thing is to calm the situation and the Macedonian side can help most toward this.

Meanwhile, commenting on various opinions recently appearing in the Albanian press, President Rugova said in reply to a journalist's question that he saw a variety of opinions as something normal. We will be considering a number of issues over the next few days, although I am against criticism that is not positive and merely strives to sling mud and destroy, forgetting that we are under occupation. We must be sober and humane and criticism must be constructive. Nevertheless, this is a matter for the writers themselves and for those who make criticisms of this kind, Dr. Rugova said in conclusion.

Current, Former Ministers Exchange Accusations

AU1302115995 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 5 Feb 95 p 1

[Article by "p.re": "Zhulali and Teta Accuse Each Other: 'He Has Been Working for the Serbs'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Zhulali and Teta, current and former defense minister respectively, are launching bitter attacks against each other. Now, each is accusing the other of having been directly or indirectly in Serbia's service. After the publication of the documents relevant to the phantom ship Vela Luka and its dangerous but at the same time very costly freight, it was Zhulali who yesterday gave concrete shape to his accusations against Teta. According to Zhulali, his predecessor, Teta, "has had secret links with the Serbian intelligence service."

Zhulali chose to provide his party's newspaper with details of his accusations. In yesterday's issue of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE he stated quite openly: "Instead of engaging himself in worthless trifles, Teta should think over and reflect upon his old links with the Serbian intelligence services to the detriment of his country, for which he will be called to account. His file will soon be sent to the prosecutor's office." Teta's colleague Arban Imami has not escaped the "edge" of the defense minister's accusations, either. "As far as Mr. Imami is concerned," Zhulali went on, "I can just tell him that he has been to Belgrade, and he might have cooked up a lot of things there with his Serbian friends to the detriment of Albania."

Just one day earlier Zhulali had told parliament that he was aware of many of Teta's activities as a minister. "They could have blown up the entire Albanian state," he told the deputies, who were quite shocked by the seriousness of the accusations.

Yesterday evening, Teta responded in person to the thunderbolts from the defense minister. "I have no intention of responding now to these accusations, which of course I consider to be totally groundless," he told GAZETA SHQIPTARE. "Zhulali said he was going to send my file to the Office of the Prosecutor. Very well, let him do so as soon as possible. I will leave him enough time to formulate his accusations against me. However, there is one thing I cannot help mentioning right away: If Zhulali knew that I have been a longstanding agent of Serbia's for a long time, why did he not act? Why did he wait precisely for this moment? Why did he keep the facts to himself?"

In the meantime Teta and Imami had declared the previous day that they were going to send the documents that they had to the Office of the Prosecutor. Thus, it seems that soon the current defense minister's name will feature in two of the files of the Office of the Prosecutor, as both accuser and accused at the same time.

The two politicians consider themselves absolutely not guilty as regards the mutual accusations they have made against each other, at the same time explaining the reasons each is being attacked by the other. According to Imami and Teta, Zhulali has come out with his charges just now because he has been caught in a tight corner with the Sotiros and Vela Luka affair. "Their aim is clear, and their suspicious links have become quite known," Zhulali replies in the pages of his party's paper, adding that "enraged by the achievements of the Defense Ministry...they are making a fuss, denying what has been achieved in the field of defense." Zhulali even stated that he had no intention of hiding behind his parliamentary immunity. "I am ready to answer before the courts or whatever for my acts." It seems this affair will go on for a long time and both sides are determined not to retract their accusations. Only the investigations of the Office of the Prosecutor into the two cases will perhaps throw light on which person is telling the truth.

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PM Meets Army Leadership on Eve of U.S. Visit

AU1102190695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 10 February Prime Minister Zhan Videnov and Nikolay Dobrev, chairman of the National Assembly commission on national security, met with Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov, the leadership of the Ministry of Defense, and the General Staff.

Information was exchanged on the state, combat readiness, and operational-combat training of the Bulgarian Army.

Despite the difficult situation, the government will do everything possible to guarantee the financial aspects of our national security, Minister Dimitur Pavlov said to our reporter. He also pointed out that during the upcoming visit to the United States, as a representative of the new Bulgarian Government he will express our country's position concerning the weapons imbalance in the Balkans and will seek cooperation in compensating Bulgaria's losses caused by the Yugo-embargo.

Foreign Minister Views Foreign Policy Priorities

AU1002185395 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Feb 95 p 5

[Interview with Bulgarian Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski by Tanya Geneva; place and date not given: "Bulgaria Is a Stable, Predictable, and Worthy Partner"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Geneva] What are the reactions of Bulgaria's foreign partners to the new government's policy declaration and its first steps?

[Pirinski] First of all, I note the rather clearly expressed hope that stable and lasting relations of cooperation can be established with the new government. The legitimacy of the elections has been accepted by all. Moreover, the government's policy declaration, and especially Zhan Videnov's presentation at the 3 February meeting with the diplomatic corps, have also been accepted very well. Simultaneously, our partners expect specific actions that would confirm our declared intentions to continue the democratic processes and market reforms.

The message of Mr. Hans van den Broek, member of the European Community commission in charge of foreign relations, in connection with the agreement on association with the EU—which has come into force—is very indicative. It clearly expresses a readiness for dialogue and cooperation. This also applies to the messages of greeting that I have received from my European colleagues and the clearly expressed willingness to conduct a dialogue with the new government expressed by the U.S. Administration and the government of the Russian Federation.

[Geneva] One week after the government took office, what are the elements of continuity and what could be described as new factors in the government's position?

[Pirinski] The basic priorities of our foreign policy could be briefly described as elements of continuity. They include integration and coming together with the European and North Atlantic structures, actively developing relations with the United States and Russia, and conducting a moderate and prudent policy based on equality in the Balkans.

Among the new factors that I would point to is the striving to implement our efforts to achieve a better balance between our commitments and our achievements, which would meet Bulgaria's national interests. In this context we will put a greater stress on our country's foreign economic relations with other countries. We must guarantee the maximum favorable foreign conditions for our economy.

[Geneva] Could you describe in more detail how you intend to give greater priority to economic factors in foreign policy?

[Pirinski] Personally, I see two elements in the answer to this question. There can be no doubt that foreign policy must facilitate the country's economic development and create the necessary foreign context for implementing the reforms and creating economic growth. On the other hand, one should not simplify relations between economic and foreign policy elements. The assertion of a more pronounced economic element in foreign policy does not presuppose a great deal of immediate and practical actions on the part of our diplomatic service in resolving issues that come under the jurisdiction of other departments, but rather ensuring the necessary foreign policy framework within which conditions for implementing our economic interests have been created.

[Geneva] How do you view the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and your own contribution to forming and conducting foreign policy?

[Pirinski] I think the best task we should try to carry out is to create confidence in Bulgaria as a stable, predictable, and worthy foreign partner. This will be possible only if several conditions are met: conducting a moderate, rational, and constructive policy in the Balkans; maintaining a reasonable balance in relations with our partners; and, last but not least, guaranteeing all those standards that generally characterize our country as an European state. In this context, the ministry's role is to coordinate the entire spectrum of foreign relations, to facilitate the activity of other departments within the framework of its jurisdiction, and to aid the conduct of the economic reform in our country through the possibilities given us by multinational organizations and international financial institutions, and, naturally, through bilateral relations. This is my understanding of the situation, and in this I see possibilities for making a personal contribution.

[Geneva] Important visits at various levels will take place in the next few days in our country and abroad. Could you preview those meetings?

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[Pirinski] You obviously mean first of all my forthcoming visit to Brussels, then the visit to the United States of the delegation led by the president and the anticipated visit to Bulgaria of the Russian Federation's prime minister. I think that those visits could be viewed to a large extent as indicative of the approach to the foreign policy realm that the government has selected. In Brussels we will be conducting talks with representatives of institutions of priority importance for our country: the European Commission; the European Parliament; France, which is currently EU chairman; the Western European Union, and NATO. I intend to discuss a broad range of issues with van den Broek, Haensch, Lamassoure, Cutileiro, and Claes. Those issues concern Bulgaria's integration into European structures and its coming together with Euro-Atlantic structures.

It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of the visit to the United States of the delegation led by President Zhelev. I think Bulgaria will have the opportunity to present its case, which includes the state and prospects for the reform in the political and economic area, the declared foreign policy priorities, the expectations regarding the development of bilateral relations, and the problems on which we would like to rely on understanding. Finally, this will also be an opportunity to present our view on the proper distribution of the burden in the material sense of the word. I mean, of course, compensation for our losses caused by the Yugoslav embargo.

During the forthcoming visit of Mr. Chernomyrdin to Bulgaria, we will begin to implement one of our foreign policy elements: restoring our position in countries with which we have always had traditionally good relations. For several months now we have been working with the Russian side on implementing many especially significant projects related to mutual investment and to substantially expanding trade. We hope to achieve specific agreements as a result of the coming visit.

[Geneva] How do you view relations among the institutions involved in foreign policy?

[Pirinski] I do not think you would be surprised by my answer. The Constitution is sufficiently clear as to the division of prerogatives, duties, and jurisdiction of the parliament, the government, and the president. The important point is that even during periods of sharp political confrontation, both the National Assembly and our society have gradually formed the common understanding that our country needs a nonpartisan, national foreign policy, and that it is unacceptable to use foreign policy to seek dividends through confrontation on foreign policy issues at international forums or through clashes between the state's power bodies.

Emergence of Ankara-Tirana-Skopje 'Axis' Affirmed

AU1302121695 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Feb 95 p 5

[Editorial: "Turkey Sets Foot in Albania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the declaration on military cooperation signed in Ankara, Turkey and Albania can already exchange military units.

In practice, however, only Turkey could do this. And this is so not only because of the size of Turkey's territory and population, or because of its military potential, which is a basic factor in NATO's southern flank. This is so first of all because of Turkey's geopolitical goals and interests.

However, the issue is more complicated, because Ankara also has a military agreement with Skopje. Regardless of how much we would like to avoid the use of the concept "axis," there can be no doubt that a specific axis is beginning to materialize.

We mean the practical implementation of the Ankara-Skopje-Tirana axis, which connects the Black and Adriatic Seas—through Bulgaria's territory.

This fact is related to many predictable and unpredictable consequences of a political, military, and religious nature.

Woe to Bulgaria.

Minister Budgets for 3.5% Deficit in 1995

AU1002142495 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 7 Feb 95 p 15

[24 CHASA staff report]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday the cabinet discussed a draft budget submitted by Finance Minister Dimitur Kostov that envisages a deficit of 3.5 percent of the GDP for 1995.

According to Kostov's calculations, the treasury will be 27 billion leva in the red. The 1995 GDP is expected to be 800-850 billion leva.

Kostov is of the view that "the entire deficit should be financed by the sale of state securities, instead of direct credits from the Bulgarian National Bank."

The treasury should receive 321 billion leva in revenue; its expenditures should amount to 348 billion leva. According to initial forecasts, tax revenues will be 268 billion leva. One-third of this will come from value-added tax [VAT] and excise duties, about 67 billion leva from social insurance receipts, and 35 billion leva from income tax.

Kostov believes that, even with zero inflation, prices will rise on average by 38-40 percent. If the cabinet manages to keep monthly inflation down to 1.5-2 percent during the second half of the year, the rise in the cost of living at the end of 1995 should be 45-50 percent, as compared with 1994. In this situation, the average annual inflation may be about 75-80 percent. In 1994, the cost of living rose by 121.9 percent.

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Kostov said the draft budget should be submitted to parliament by 13 March. He explained that the new profits tax law will take effect as of 1996, because the 1995 financial year has already begun. The minister considers that transactions involving goods and services should be subject to different VAT rates. Some time ago, Deputy Prime Minister Gechev said that the government was thinking of reducing the taxes on food and newspapers.

Bulgargaz: Natural Gas Supplies Back to Normal

AU1002150995 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 7 Feb 95 p 4

[Article by Velina Dimova: "Natural Gas Supplies Have Returned to Normal for the Time Being"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bulgargaz has reported that gas deliveries have returned to normal throughout the country. The pressure has remained constant for a week now, and no problems have arisen. According to informed sources, yesterday's deliveries even exceeded the amounts initially scheduled, reaching 17-19 million cubic meters. Since there has been no rise in temperatures or reduction in consumption along the pipeline route, specialists attribute the already existing favorable position to the fact that Ukraine now receives its gas supplies from Turkmenistan instead of from Russia.

Yesterday Bulgargaz celebrated its "birthday." On 6 February 1965, it started arranging nationwide delivery of natural gas from the Chiren field. Today, specialists consider that the capacity of the Chiren gas storage facility should be doubled. At the moment, the Chiren field supplies 2.5 million cubic meters per day, and about $30 million are needed to extend it over the next five years. At present 13 exploratory drilling operations [sondazhi] are in progress, and each new one costs 50-60 million leva. The actual natural gas field at Chiren, which initially contained about 3 billion cubic meters, was exhausted way back in 1973, after which the field was used as a storage reservoir. Under a joint program with the Geologic Committee, Bulgargaz is continuing the search for a new field, but according to Bulgargaz chief Angel Popov, a second storage reservoir of the same size is needed in the south of the country.

Bulgaria makes good profits from the gas transit pipelines. Last year we received 400 million cubic meters of gas as payment for allowing the transit of natural gas. A transit gas pipeline to Turkey has been in operation since 1987, and in 1995 an additional two lines will be commissioned to supply Greece and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. According to Popov, however, Bulgargaz owes the budget 16 billion leva and owes about 1 billion leva to the banks and a further 300 million leva to construction organizations. The firm's biggest debtor is the district heating company in Sofia, which owes capital of 4.415 billion leva and 1.430 billion leva in outstanding interest. Nevertheless, the firm has managed to collect more receipts than its debts, but according to informed sources at the moment it is not clear how it will manage to balance its books.

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Zieleniec Airs Views on UNPROFOR in Croatia

LD1002185695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic ended his two-day official visit to the Czech Republic today. His agenda included talks with his Czech counterpart, Josef Zieleniec, Defense Minister Vilem Holan, and other Czech Government officials. Zita Senkova sums up the results of his talks:

[Senkova] The Czech Republic and Croatia differ in their views on the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] mandate on the territory of Croatia, in the self-declared republic of Serbian Krajina. [passage omitted] The view held by our diplomats on this matter was expressed by Foreign Minister Josef Zileniec, who said the following:

[Begin Zieleniec recording] The moment for the withdrawal of the forces is probably not well chosen. The important thing could be if Croatia finds a way to extend UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia. In my view, it is extremely important that willingness to reach an agreement between Croatia and Serbia has emerged, that this willingness is evident—at least the will to communicate with each other. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Senkova] According to Zieleniec, the withdrawal of UNPROFOR from Croatia will tend to destabilize the current situation. If the blue helmets are evacuated, the Czech Republic will act in accordance with UN decisions.

UK's Rifkind on NATO Expansion, Coming Visit

LD1202125695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 12 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] British Defense Secretary Malcolm Rifkind will hold talks with Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec and Defense Minister Vilem Holan during his visit to Prague on 14 February.

Speaking to journalists in London, Rifkind said he views his visit as a confirmation of NATO interest in close cooperation with the states of Central and East Europe. He added that in Britain's view the participation of the Czech Republic in the Partnership for Peace program was the best form of preparing itself for joining NATO. Rifkind said that the West holds the view that Moscow does not have the right to veto possible future full membership of Central European countries in the Alliance.

Havel Gives Reasons for Wanting To Join NATO

LD1202135995 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 12 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In his exclusive interview for the Russian paper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, Czech President Vaclav Havel said that the Czech Republic wanted to be reliably protected and have the allies and security guarantees that were nowadays represented by NATO.

We perceive NATO as the only functioning, really European security structure that is based on the civilization values to which we also subscribe. Our country, which has a varied historical experience, including the Munich experience, would not like to find itself in some sort of a vacuum.

According to President Havel, the effort to join NATO does not mean that the Czech Republic does not want friendly relations with Russia, nor is it an expression of fear of Russia.

Year-End Assessment of Czech Prospects

95CH0102B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 10 Jan 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Victor Gomez: "1995 Will Test Czech Democracy"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The lights danced across the darkened Prague skyline; streaking up at a frantic pace, they seemed to emanate from every corner of the city, every square, every street, perhaps every person. Once again, the calendar had folded itself into a new year, with all the attendant euphoria.

This night of sheer abandon heralded something more than the conclusion of a typical year. For the people of the Czech Republic, it marked the end of five years that literally changed the face of the country.

In many ways, the future seems certain. But in many others, it remains unpredictable and daunting.

Politics have floated to the background of many Czechs' lives, as they focus on the hectic pace of the market economy and their own place in it.

At the same time, the country has reached an important crossroads in political decision-making.

In the coming year, a series of political hurdles bearing important social consequences must be negotiated by the governing four-party coalition. These stem from the still-unfinished business of constructing a democratic system.

It has been two years since the elected representatives of the country set down the constitution of the new Czech Republic. And yet, without a senate or a system of regional governments, the country is still not completely guided by this document.

It has been four years since prices were liberalized and space was made for market forces to begin transforming the economy and society. But the country still has neither a set of rules that would enable the growth of a nonprofit sector, nor a comprehensive social security system.

They are problems of varying importance for average citizens, but all point to future political conflict within parliament and outside it.

Most of the parliamentary fights will pit the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) against its three smaller partners in the governing coalition.

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These fights are not likely to shatter the coalition, which continues to garner high ratings in public opinion polls. But they will be messy battles likely to determine the future political spectrum of the country.

Smaller parties have championed these issues as a way of distinguishing themselves from Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus' ODS.

But with the economy performing remarkably well, there is little room for these parties to gain leverage against the ODS. Klaus has so far proved remarkably successful in gauging the public mood on various issues, while other political leaders wrap themselves up in incomprehensible semantics.

Much of this seems due to the fact that the Czech political scene lacks strong, influential personalities who could pose a serious challenge to Klaus.

A possible wild card in this area might be President Vaclav Havel. Still immensely popular five years after leading the revolution that toppled the communist regime, he wields enormous authority in the country.

Although he has chosen to remain in the background of public affairs for the past two years, lately Havel has seemed restless.

His New Year's Day speech, delivered in a forceful tone, carried frank warnings about the future of the country should the government fail to complete certain tasks. Along with renewing his call for a law on the nonprofit sector, Havel emphasized the need to set up the senate and regional government system required by the constitution.

More than any other politician, Havel has proven adept at mapping out the broader societal significance of arcane constitutional laws. His potential ability to push the government to complete the transformation process may lie not only in his personality but in the way he has connected himself to his nation's history.

In a century that began under Austrian domination, brought Nazi occupation and four decades of subjugation to the Soviet Union, the period between the two world wars has come to symbolize a golden era and a democratic guidebook for many Czechs.

Affectionately referred to as the First Republic, this period saw Czechoslovakia become one of the most stable, prosperous and egalitarian democracies in Europe.

Havel has made an attempt to tap those First Republic values in countless speeches and public statements.

The extent to which these values have survived in a society worn down by 40 years of communism is an open question. The answer will determine the course of politics in the coming year and in the run-up to the next national elections in 1996.

It will also determine the content of important laws to govern the social sphere of life in the country. The values imbued in these laws will, in turn, determine the quality and longevity of democratic order in the country.

Minister Views Army Funding Goals, Priorities

AU1102180695 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Feb 95 p 7

[Article by Petr Bakovsky: "State Budget Cannot Be the Only Source of Funds To Cover the Needs of the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry has obtained more than 27 billion korunas [Kc] from the state budget for its expenditure this year. A little more than Kc4 billion (4.06 billion) of this was allocated for the modernization of the Army. Most of the arms and equipment of our troops are both morally and technically antiquated and need to be either replaced or at least thoroughly modernized. The principal document in this sphere for the enumeration of the overall needs of the Army is the Acquisition Plan of the Czech Republic Army for the Years 1995 to 2005. According to the conclusions of this plan, however, the Army needs approximately Kc12 billion for modernization.

The Defense Ministry bases its calculation of financial resources on the assumption that 2.5 percent of the GDP will be earmarked for its part of the budget. This year the ministry asked in its original application for 2.42 percent of the GDP; after some adjustments, however, its budget was reduced by Kc697 million, and the share of the GDP dropped to 2.36 percent. If the Army actually received 2.5 percent of the GDP, approximately Kc1 billion more could be applied to modernization.

If the government and parliament approve the Army's demands, with the rising GDP the Army will have greater scope in the purchase of hardware. Nevertheless, it cannot be expected that mere increments to its budget resulting from GDP growth will cover all of the requirements specified in the Acquisition Plan. Concerning this, Defense Minister Holan told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY that the ministry does what the budget allows. "The new system of planning of programming and budgeting makes it possible for us not to plan for a single year but, rather, for a 10-year period. Hence, we conform to the budgeted amount so as to manage to purchase, acquire, develop, or repair the stuff we need." As an example, the minister used the L-159 aircraft purchase schedule spread over several years according to financial potential. The acquisition plan can also be modified according to the conceivable changes in risks to the state and the resources available.

According to Defense Ministry representatives, to be able to push the higher demands through the government and parliament, it is necessary to turn about financial flows in the Army. Until last year, no one had been able to determine how much the operations of individual units cost. At the same time, the Army spends most of

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the Defense Ministry funds to pay for its own operations. While this year less than 15 percent of the budget is being used for the needs of the acquisition plan, the ministry wants to reach 30 percent in the future. Therefore, the increase in funds from the state budget cannot be the only source of finance for the modernization of the Army. According to Holan, the endeavors for the most economical and efficient management are also a resource. The minister considers this alternative to be another route to financial means. This ties with the transfer of the Army on 1 January 1995 to a new system of management and, within its framework, to double-entry accounting. The soldiers expect that this system will become the basis for a truly economic utilization of resources and show where the funds are short and where wasted. Nevertheless, the Defense Ministry budget is attempting to cut operational costs this year. This is reflected in the pay funds and other expenditure linked to pay. The planned number of professional soldiers is being reduced by approximately 12,900 men and drafted troops by approximately 21,500, compared with 1994.

Nevertheless, the Army is not only short of funds for the modernization of equipment. According to both former Defense Minister Antonin Baudys and current Defense Minister Vilem Holan, the internal debt for furnishing the barracks, for instance, has reached Kc8 billion. So, at many locations, soldiers are forced to live in thoroughly unsuitable conditions. According to Holan, it is a desperate situation that the ministry is attempting to deal with by very unconventional means. One of the options is to tie some of the funds obtained from the sale of surplus real property to the repair of barracks. Holan commented on this for HOSPODARSKE NOVINY by saying that he could imagine a situation that would require an amount of money outside the standard military budget and that the heavy debt burden on the barracks furnishing is an example of this. Nevertheless, the minister does not rule out that in the distant future the question of arms for the Air Defense (PVO) could also be put outside the budget. The quality PVO system has acquired additional importance since the evaluation of experience from the Gulf war, and our Army is mostly equipped with the same systems as the unsuccessful Iranians had. The modern air-defense systems are, however, very costly: A single new-generation fighter jet or a battery of Patriot antiaircraft missiles costs nearly $94 million. According to Holan, given the size of our territory, it would be better and cheaper to secure the air defenses within the framework of the entire Central European region. NATO's air defense umbrella would also have great significance for us. The creation of the technical conditions for admission to NATO means, however, significantly improving the quality of our Army's equipment. Holan believes that computer equipment and the PVO should take priority. Therefore, the acquisition plan surmises that most of the Kc120 billion to be used for modernization between 1995 and 2005 will be spent on combat aircraft equipment, arms, and ammunition. It is 27.9 percent of the total—that is, more than Kc33 billion.

T-55 Tanks, Transporters Supplied to Cambodia

LD1002175795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Czech Republic will supply Cambodia with 90 tanks and transporters, of which the first 20 have already arrived in the south of the country, at Sihoquille port.

The Cambodian press reported today that the tanks concerned are T-55 tanks, formerly produced in the Soviet Union. The Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed in November 1994 that it had authorized the sale of 40 T-55 tanks, including spare parts, to Cambodia. According to the Ministry of Defense, the technology involved has been discarded from Czech Army equipment in line with the agreement on conventional armed forces in Europe.

Investigator Describes Seizure of Uranium

95CH0102A Prague RAGUE POST in English 10 Jan 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Maggie Ledford Lawson and Jan Stojaspal: "On a Prague Street, Hot Uranium"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] What Czech police thought was a routine call to the department's emergency 158 line proved a prelude to the biggest uranium smuggling case in world history.

The anonymous caller, a female with a foreign accent, told police that a deal was about to go down involving the illegal transfer of "material."

Go to Argentinska street on Dec. 14 and look for a Saab automobile with three men inside, the woman said.

Police check out every call that comes in on the emergency line, but this one attracted particular attention because the details about the suspects were so specific, said Jan Rathausky, the lead investigator in the case.

Following the woman's directions, police sent their organized crime squad to stake out the area near Holesovicka trznice in Prague 7, where the transaction was to occur. A light blue Saab 99 GL with three men inside pulled up next to a gas station, just as the police had expected, Rathausky said.

What they hadn't expected was what they found in the back seat.

Under a scuffed briefcase on the seat, covered by a loose, opaque white plastic bag with colorful designs, lay two dark green metal canisters, each about 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter and 30 centimeters (12 inches) long, police said.

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Inside the lead canisters, wrapped in a brown plastic bag and a green one, was the largest stash of highly enriched uranium ever uncovered by law enforcement authorities anywhere in the world.

The grainy, dark gray material, in the form of uranium oxide, is the stuff nuclear bombs are made of.

"One of the men was sitting right next to the uranium," said Rathausky. Nuclear scientists who later tested the uranium said it was emitting radiation at about 200 times natural background levels, not enough to kill anyone who is exposed to it, but not anything a knowledgeable person wants to sit next to, either.

"I personally was frightened when I went to see it, but I was assured that short-term exposure, maybe 10 seconds, couldn't harm me," said Rathausky.

Rathausky seems a little dazed these days, as he deals with what is probably the hottest case of his career.

"Ordinarily, we investigate crimes against property," he said, turning through the previously unthumbed pages of the criminal code that address possession of radioactive material.

The police arrested the three men in the car, who remain in custody at the Pankrac prison in Prague, although charges have not yet been filed. All three of the suspects maintain that they are innocent. "They claimed to be terribly surprised at what the police found in the car," Rathausky said.

The case fanned fears worldwide that terrorists will use smuggled uranium to manufacture a bomb. While numerous cases of nuclear smuggling have occurred since the fall of the Soviet Union at the end of 1990, previously only small amounts—one to three grams (0.035 to 0.105 ounces)—highly enriched uranium have been seized from criminals, said Hans Meyer, spokesman for the International Atomic Energy Agency, an organization that monitors nuclear matters throughout the world.

Rathausky said this is the first uranium smuggling case ever in the Czech Republic. The uranium seizure raised numerous questions, some of which may take months to answer—if they are answered at all. Where the uranium came from, how it wound up in the middle of Prague, and who wanted it are among the mysteries that are keeping the 20 Czech investigators assigned to the case awake nights.

Police wouldn't give names of those allegedly involved in the deal, but they said the driver of the car was a Czech citizen with a background in nuclear physics, while the other two were from the former Soviet Union.

A source said the Czech suspect had at one time worked at Dukovany, the country's sole operating nuclear plant, and also at Temelin, the plant now under construction.

An investigator said the suspect, in his 50s, is from Ceske Budejovice, south Bohemia.

The Belarusian consulate confirmed that a citizen of that country, whose passport showed he was born in 1956 and lives in Minsk, is also one of the suspects. The other person involved is believed to be a Russian citizen who lives in Kurgan-Tube, Tajikistan.

Investigators said they believe a gang comprising both Czechs and foreigners could be involved in the smuggling. If that is the case, Rathausky said, "we want to penetrate the ring."

The police have asked for help from Interpol, the international police organization, in finding information about the backgrounds of the foreign suspects in the case.

"At least one person in that car had to know what was in the back seat," Rathausky said.

Analysts at the Nuclear Research Institute in Rez, where the material was taken and is being stored, said the radioactive material was uranium 238, 87.5 percent enriched with the isotope U-235, and thus of bomb-grade quality. It weighed 2,730 grams (just over six pounds), and was determined to be emitting 2 to 3 millirems per hour on the canister surface.

Workers in nuclear plants are allowed exposure of up to 5 rems per year, said Cenek Svoboda, a spokesman for the institute. "The uranium (found in the car) wouldn't be dangerous unless you put it under your mattress and slept on it for a couple of years," he said.

"What is dangerous is the amount," said Vladimir Lelek, director of the division of physics for nuclear reactors at the Czech Nuclear Research Institute. "Although it's far below the critical amount needed for a nuclear reaction, a couple of (shipments) like this could add up to enough for a reaction."

The International Atomic Energy Agency's Meyer agreed that the uranium found in Prague is significant because of its quantity, and also because of the quality of the material.

Meyer said only a few facilities in the world can enrich uranium to such a high degree. Several such sites exist in the former Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom, France and the United States also have that capability.

Scientists agree that tracing the uranium to its source is a virtual impossibility, since the material is similar wherever it is produced.

Getting rid of it won't be so easy, either, said Svoboda. "There's enough uranium already on the legal world market.

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Meciar Meets Russia's Yarov To Discuss Ties

LD1002145395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today in Bratislava, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar met Yuriy Yarov, Russian deputy prime minister, who is attending the third session of the intergovernmental commission for trade, economic, and scientific and technological cooperation between Slovakia and Russia.

The two sides stressed their interest not only in extending economic relations but also in reviving cooperation in scientific and other spheres.

Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik briefed correspondents on the session held by the commission, saying that Slovakia regarded long-term supplies of gas and the solution of debt issue as decisive issues.

Itinerary for Russian Prime Minister's Visit

LD1102102895 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference in the Bratislava Embassy of the Russian Federation today, Russian Ambassador Sergey Yasterzhembskiy revealed the itinerary of Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's first visit to Slovakia [13-14 February].

Apart from being received by state officials Slovak President Michal Kovac and parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic, the Russian prime minister will have talks with his Slovak counterpart, Vladimir Meciar, on many issues concerning culture, education, security and, primarily, the economy.

Six intergovernment agreements are prepared for signing. Let us mention, at least, the intergovernment agreement on visa-free travel, on the grounds of which the existing invitation duty should be abolished.

The Russian delegation will also include economic ministers and industrialists, who will have talks on the possibilities of economic cooperation. For example, the joint production of engines for the Yak-130 aircraft and participation with the Povazke Strojarne engineering plant are to be negotiated. Another company that will try to enter Russian markets is the Matador [tire] company in Puchov.

Other issues on the agenda concern the construction of the new gas pipeline and payments for Russian gas next year.

Prime Minister Gives Weekly Interview

LD1002213995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 10 Feb 95

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Martin Bartusek in Bratislava on 10 February—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bartusek] [Passage omitted] Last weekend [4-5 February] you attended a meeting in Trencianske Teplice, where economic ministers held talks with the representatives of the National Property Fund and the Supreme Control Office of the Slovak Republic.

The main topic was the start of the preliminary round of the second wave of coupon privatization. However, certain control of the current round of privatization has also become an issue. What specifically is to be controlled, and what is expected from this control?

[Meciar] According to preliminary accounts, the National Property Fund has not received payments amounting to approximately 2 billion Slovak korunas. Therefore, it became necessary to investigate where the shortage occurred and the reason for such high insolvency.

Apart from that, we realized that some businessmen are taking advantage of the imperfect agreements and that they are selling off factories before they clear their debts to the National Property Fund.

We have also found out that many enterprises that are to be privatized are already linked to the limited companies. As state companies, they are destined for bankruptcy, while limited companies, which [words indistinct], accumulate money for themselves. Narrow groups of people are building up funds intended for future privatization of enterprizes that might go bankrupt.

This control is an extensive operation that is to be carried out jointly by several institutions, such as the Supreme Control Office, tax offices, and officials from the Ministry of Economy and customs administration, and so on. An Inter-resort institution, which will carry out this control, is being established. We have limited time for preparations. The time for the control itself will be several months.

[Bartusek] Prime Minister, do you think this measure could delay the preliminary round of the second wave of privatization?

[Meciar] No. This has nothing to do with the preliminary round. The main task is to clarify the signed agreement and to decide what is to be done with the signed agreements. Decisions will have to be made about what the National Property Fund will give up, new terms of payments, and when it will have to undertake certain disciplinary measures against those who seriously abuse the agreements. [passage omitted]

President, PM Meciar Agree To Coordinate Policy

AU1002150895 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 95 p 2

[TA SR report: "Agreement on Coordination"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—A working consultative meeting of the supreme constitutional officials was held in Bratislava yesterday on the initiative of President Michal Kovac. The aim of Michal Kovac's meeting with Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], and Prime Minister

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Vladimir Meciar was to exchange information and coordinate the foreign political activities of the Slovak Republic's representatives. Presidential spokesman Vladimir Stefko announced that they had agreed on the mechanisms of mutual coordination and cooperation in this area and set priorities of foreign political activities. The meeting was attended also by Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the NRSR Foreign Affairs Committee, and Minister of Foreign Affairs Juraj Schenk.

Finance Ministry Statement on IMF Standby Loan

LD1002174395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] My colleagues have just brought into our studio a statement by Rudolf Autner, the state secretary at the Slovak Finance Ministry, on the activities of the IMF evaluation mission in Slovakia.

The statement says: The IMF mission visited the Slovak Republic, staying there from 18 January to 1 February 1995. The aim of the mission was to make the first assessment of the program agreed upon by the Slovak Republic Government, the National Bank of Slovakia, and the IMF regarding the standby loan granted by the IMF to the Slovak Republic in July 1994.

The first assessment included talks on agreeing measures to secure the program's aims for 1995. The 1995 primary targets are to preserve the achieved pace of economic growth and the existing fiscal deficit, reduce inflation to not more than 10 percent per year, create conditions for the convertibility of the current account, and secure the growth of foreign currency reserves.

As a part of its assessment, the IMF mission expressed its satisfaction regarding the results achieved in 1994, which were better than generally expected.

At present the Slovak Republic Government, in cooperation with the National Bank of Slovakia, is reassessing measures recommended by the IMF, with the aim of signing a letter of intent and a memorandum on economic policy within one month. Before the signing of the letter of intent, one more consultative meeting with the IMF is expected to take place.

It is expected that a final agreement on the measures to be adopted by the Slovak Republic Government and the National Bank of Slovakia, expressed in the memorandum on economic policy, will be reached during a visit to Washington in the second half of February 1995 by Sergej Kozlik, the deputy prime minister and finance minister; Rudolf Autner, the state secretary at the Finance Ministry; and Vladimir Masar, the governor of the National Bank of Slovakia.

This was the statement by Rudolf Autner, the state secretary at the Finance Ministry.

Meciar Views IMF Conditions for Further Loan

LD1002164495 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 10 Feb 95

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Martin Bartisek on 10 February; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bartisek] The REUTERS agency brought a report this week, giving an official from the Slovak Ministry of Finance as its source, from which I would like to quote. The third installment of a $120-million IMF standby loan will probably be put on hold until the Slovak Government gives more details on some of the steps outlined in its policy statement for the next four years.

What steps do you think they have in mind?

[Meciar] IMF officials have left for their headquarters to consult some steps and will return in March to continue talks with us. Altogether, they have presented us with three conditions. The first one concerns coupon privatization. It is not difficult to meet this condition because, within the first six months of 1995, we will announce the date for coupon privatization, provided a special work regime is adopted—that is, that notary offices and geodesists and others help us.

The second thing they have asked us for is to increase the pension age. Before the elections, at the national council [parliament], in our election program we declared that we would not allow such a step to be taken before 1998. Our position is a bit complicated, for instance, due to the fact that a Christian Democrat delivered a speech at a plenary session of the national council calling for the pension age to be increased, thus indicating a certain willingness to meet the IMF halfway. He showed a total lack of consideration for our citizens because an increase in pension age is not linked to the amount of money at the state's disposal but to our citizens' average age. Without changing this we cannot proceed. This is the issue we are disputing, and we do not intend to give in as regards this issue.

The third disputed issue is that of family allowance. [Word indistinct] IMF has proposed a reduction, which would result in reducing the allowance by 40 percent. However, our situation is a very different one. Because Slovakia is growing older, because large numbers of our people depend on social support, because family allowance is in fact being used to balance families' social situation, because Slovakia needs to get moving in the opposite direction—that is, to begin to increase its population—we are prepared to agree with reducing family allowance only for those who are already so well off that in fact it is not dignified for them to draw on state social support. [passage omitted]

[Bartisek] At the beginning you said that continuous talks with IMF officials were under way. Can you confirm that no agreement was reached during the last round of talks?

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[Meciar] It is not possible to put it like that, saying that no agreement was reached. Talks are under way, and, until they are concluded...[pauses] many things were agreed upon. So far these three things have not been agreed upon. The Government of the Slovak Republic takes an unambiguous stance on this—the first point, privatization, will be solved quickly; as regards the second and third points, we do not intend to give in, we do not have anywhere to retreat to. This is why we will have to find a different formulation as regards these two issues to reach an agreement with the IMF.

I do accept its argument about our population growing older. On the other hand, it has to accept my argument about state of health, age, and the development so far in the number of Slovakia's population. In this way a compromise can be found.

Hungarians Object to Makeup of Minority Council

AU1002210295 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 9 Feb 95 p 2

[TASR report: "First Meeting of the Slovak Government Council for Ethnic Minorities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Government Council for Ethnic Minorities held its first meeting yesterday. It discussed the draft of its statutes, rules of procedure, and other organizational aspects concerning the activity of this Slovak Government advisory body. The Slovak Government Council for Ethnic Minorities has 22 members. Ethnic minorities are represented by nine representatives of individual ethnic minorities living in the Slovak Republic. The other council members are representatives of the Slovak Heritage Foundation, central state administration bodies, the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], and scientific institutions. Viktor Bauer, Central Committee chairman of the Hungarian Culture and Social Union-Csemadok, expressed concern about the composition of the council, in which the representatives of ethnic minorities are in a minority. He described as dangerous the fact that they can be outvoted.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 9 February on page 3 carries an 800-word commentary by Juraj Alner on the constituent meeting of the Government Council of Ethnic Minorities. According to Alner, the 22-member council is made up of nine minority representatives, one each representing the Czech, Croatian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, German, Polish, and Romany minorities; two representatives of the Slovak Heritage Foundation, Jan Bobak and Stanislav Bajanik; six representatives of central state administration bodies, Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman as the council's chairman and representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Justice, Interior, and Culture; three members representing scientific institutions, the Ethnology Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the Social Science Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and the Research Institute of Ethnic Minorities' Education and Culture; and two NRSR representatives, Gyula Bardos for the Hungarian coalition and V. Vicen for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia.]

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Mediation in Russian Arms to Bosnia Denied

LD1202180695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 12 Feb 95

[Interview with Istvan Fodor, political state secretary at the Ministry of Defense, by Peter Gyuricza in Budapest—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gyuricza] On the line is Istvan Fodor, political state secretary at the Ministry of Defense. Good day. What basis can there be for this report that Hungary mediated in supplying Russian arms to Bosnian Serbs?

[Fodor] It is my conviction that it has no basis whatever. During the conflicts taking place on the territory of the states that succeeded the former Yugoslavia, this is not the first time that such (?heavy) rumors coming from various sources have seen the light of day. Ever since the Kalashnikov affair, which is memorable but which happened nearly four years ago, it has been proved on every occasion that these assumptions were unfounded. I would just like to add that only recently, both in Western Europe and America, recognition was paid to Hungary's conduct in the course of the observance of the embargo.

[Gyuricza] Do you categorically refute this report?

[Fodor] I can assert completely unequivocally that no such mediation can have occurred with the knowledge or permission of official Hungarian organs.

New Accusation of Mediation

LD1202175395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 12 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A Zagreb paper has again accused Hungary of mediating in the delivery of weapons. According to Bosnia's chief of staff, Russia is offering immediate help to the Bosnian Serbs, and with Hungarian mediation.

General Jovan Divljak alleged in a Zagreb paper, citing reliable information, that despite the international embargo, Russia is supplying the fighters of Radovan Kardzic with weapons via Hungary. Using the weapons received from Moscow, the Serbs have allegedly established nearly 150 battle positions around Bihac. According to the Bosnian military leader, this was the reason NATO desisted from further protection of the UN protection zone.

Minister Comments on Mochovce Nuclear Plant

LD1202205395 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] The guest of The Week program is Environment Minister Ferenc Baja. Good evening. Your ministry has not dealt with the issue of the Mochovce [Mohi] nuclear plant for five years. I heard it was difficult to find the files. How is that possible?

[Baja] Look, the last briefing about the power station was held in 1989, when those living in the vicinity were informed about the project at a Hungarian initiative. [passage omitted]

We have not dealt with it enough, although it is a dangerous plant. However, I have to tell you that the Austrian side dealt with the issue in a very intensive way, but it was unsuccessful. Thus, I have to say that the situation would not be different now if dealt with in a more resolute way.

[Announcer] What will the government's position be, in light of the public inquiry [held on 10 February in Budapest].

[Baja] In light of the public inquiry, the developments since then, and the Slovak positiion—which became clear at the public inquiry—the government's scope is very limited. [passage omitted]

I have to say that Hungary's protest does not have any real effect, since no international agreement restricts Slovakia. I, however, am of the view that, even if it is a formality, Hungary's interests have to be formulated. I think that if it wants to join Europe, Hungary should join a nuclear-plant-free Europe. This is also my personal view.

At the same time, however, it is also evident that, in addition to this, our second interest is to strive for as much safety as possible in this region. This also transpired at the public inquiry, and it is also the citizens' interest. Thus, if despite our protest, we cannot prevent the completion of the power station, then our interest lies in the safest possible operation of the power station. We have tools for this, through international accords and joint monitoring surveys. This is the direction in which the talks must continue. This is the lesser of two evils.

[Announcer] How will Peter Akos Bod vote in the general assembly of the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development]? He represents the Hungarian position with his vote.

[Baja] I think that today the main thing is not how Peter Akos Bod will vote—especially in light of today's Russian offer [to help the completion of the project financially]. The main thing is that while maintaining contradicting positions, relations should not become so acrimonious that at the end the two sides are not willing to talk about the power station itself.

The Hungarian position and interests are clear. However, if Slovakia completes the plant at all costs, then it will be very important to have talks despite contradictory positions. We will try to guarantee the safety of the citizens of Hungary at a maximum level. This is what is at stake.

In addition to the public inquiry, the government will obviously ask for the opinion of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Hungarian atomic energy committee. I will inform the foreign minister. My interest lies in the safest possible operation of the nuclear station—if it has to be completed at all costs. However, I am not an advocate of nuclear plants. [passage omitted]

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Sejm Speaker, UK's Rifkind Hold Talks

LD1302113895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1024 GMT 13 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 13 Feb—Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy received today Malcolm Rifkind, British secretary of state for defense, the Sejm Chancellery Information Office announced.

The expansion of NATO was the main topic of conversation. "Our goals are invariable and your support is indispensable", Speaker Oleksy said, describing the "Euro-Atlantic course" as the basic goal of Polish foreign policy.

Malcolm Rifkind stated that Great Britain is interested in the expansion of NATO, and said that studies by the treaty authorities on the issue of accepting new members is continuing, and it is due to end in the middle of this year. The next step will be the consideration of applications for membership by the respective countries. Rifkind stressed that membership will be decided only by NATO and the country concerned.

According to the secretary of state, Great Britain is satisfied with bilateral military cooperation and is interested in its development in such spheres as exchanges of personnel, study by Polish students at English military academies, and the use of training grounds in Poland, the communique says.

Walesa Admits No Legal Grounds for Dissolution

LD1202212595 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 12 Feb 95

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa believes that if parliament is dissolved, the presidential and the parliamentary campaigns should not be run concurrently. That is why the presidential elections should be postponed. The president added, however, that there are no legal grounds for the dissolution of parliament.

During today's meeting of their party, the Freedom Union leaders said that two weeks ago, when they held a meeting with Lech Walesa, the president proposed that the presidential election be postponed by one year.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Maciej Sojka] The Freedom Union leaders said that this remark by Lech Walesa was one of the most important reasons for them to take action aimed at preventing the dissolution of parliament.

[Donald Tusk, Freedom Union deputy chairman, identified by caption] There are many pointers indicating that President Lech Walesa is sceptical about his reelection chances and is looking for different ways to prolong his presidency. I think he is looking for ways to win the election but, to be sure, he is also trying to extend his tenure.

[Sojka] After his arrival from Gdansk the president said that all he wanted was that the presidential elections not be held at the same time as the parliamentary ones.

[Walesa] Let us think for a moment what those leaders consider a sensation. If the parliamentary elections were held sometime in July, how do we run the campaign and the presidential election. Logically, there's simply no time for that. Therefore, I kept telling him [not further identified], I considered many options. But this is no sensation, just a logical timetable.

[Sojka] The president stressed that at the moment they were just theoretical speculations.

[Walesa] For the time being there are no legal possibilities for the dissolution of parliament, unless it dissolves itself. And when would it do it? There are no possibilities in February, in March, in April; let us look at the time.

[Sojka] According to the president, the Freedom Union leaders will soon receive the answer that will dispel their doubts.

[Walesa] To the question of what Mazowiecki and Geremek did, I will reply in three week's time, [words indistinct].

[Sojka] Lech Walesa failed to explain what action he was going to take in three weeks' time.

Report on Walesa-Oleksy Talk, PSL Discussions

WS1002133095 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Feb 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska and Jan Bazyl Lipszyc: "After Talk With President; Sejm Speaker Is Not Prime Minister Yet"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy has not decided yet whether he would undertake the mission of forming a coalition government. He said that the final decision depends on the stand taken by the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and on the budget law. The decision will be made next week.

"If I decided to continue forming the government, then I would most certainly be in favor of restructuring the government, which would include creation of an economic center, reduction of the number of ministries, and decentralization of power," said Jozef Oleksy upon returning from his meeting with President Lech Walesa. He believes that continuation of the mission depends on whether the consultations result in "the picture of a serious, stable, cohesive possibility for the functioning of the government," because it is not a question of a reshuffle, but of strengthening the government.

Speaker Says Neither Yes nor No

According to Oleksy, the conviction that he already agreed to form the government has been created by the media. He believes that if the PSL Chief Council approves the agreement as well as his candidacy for

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prime minister today, the 11 February coalition talks should begin with specific programmatic and personnel proposals.

"It is next to impossible for a constructive no-confidence vote to be held at the next session of the Sejm," Oleksy believes.

President Might Say "Yes"

The Sejm speaker would not describe his meeting with the president; he merely said that the president had talked with him as Sejm speaker, not as a candidate for prime minister; he did not deny that one of the subjects discussed at the meeting was the signing of the budget. He also made it clear to journalists that whether or not he forms the government will also depend on decisions regarding this issue. Following is his comment on the situation he found himself in as a candidate: "What is needed is not the president's favorable attitude, but his restraint." He termed his stand on the problem of forming a new government as "firm" and said that it is difficult to speak about Lech Walesa's approval of his candidacy for prime minister. It is more appropriate to speak about his "restraint" in issuing opinions. However, Oleksy said that the prospects for his potential cooperation with the president in the future, when he is prime minister, look pretty good, even though he would not say what exactly made him think so.

Lech Walesa told newsmen, in turn, that "he cannot say" that he is satisfied with the coalition's new candidate for prime minister.

Asked whether he can see a place for Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko in the new government, Walesa, who said that this was not his business, stated: "If I were prime minister, I would be sorry to say that Kolodko would not be considered." Asked whether he would sign the budget law, the president replied that this is not only a political issue, but an economic one as well, and a matter of a slightly different perception of the budget. However, he avoided answering the question as to whether he would sign the budget and, if he did, when. He merely stated that he would discuss this with the next prime minister.

PSL Might Say "No"

The Chief Executive Committee [NKW]—a 15-person leadership organ of PSL—approved on 9 February a decision made by the party's leaders regarding Pawlak's resignation and the formation of a new government by Oleksy. "PSL is ready for talks on the program, structure, and the composition of the government," NKW declared. However, at an evening session of the nearly 170-person PSL Club, closed to the press, the moods were different. The deputies and senators criticized the prime minister, his advisers, PSL ministers, the leadership of the party and of the club. Aleksander Bentkowski said that one of the main accusations leveled at the prime minister was the fact that he had not discussed the three options for resolving the crisis which he submitted to the Democratic Left Alliance on 7 February; Pawlak was also criticized because he agreed too hastily to the option that envisions Oleksy as prime minister and Zych as Sejm speaker. Many peasants believe that the coalition accord is still binding and that a PSL-member should be appointed prime minister; they also believe that even if the Pawlak cabinet steps down, it will be necessary to present the annual report on the condition of the state, which would be a kind of political statement. [passage omitted]

The leaders were criticized not only for making the decision, but also for making other mistakes. The persons who were most violently attacked were Michal Strak and Franciszek Mleczko. Three persons were not criticized—Aleksander Luczak, Stanislaw Zelichowski, and Kazimierz Dejmek. It was suggested that those at whom allegations were publicly leveled either try to exonerate themselves or bear the responsibility. [passage omitted] The final decision regarding PSL's participation in the government and in the coalition will be made by the Chief Council. It can be expected that despite the criticism, its members, just like NKW, will accept Waldemar Pawlak's decision. [passage omitted]

Kwasniewski Blames Walesa for Political Crisis

LD1102190095 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During today's meeting with residents of Kielce, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader put the entire blame for the present political crisis on President Lech Walesa. According to SLD leader Aleksander Kwasniewski, Poland's economic situation is good, as are prospects for the future.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] It is no coincidence that for some time President Walesa has been spending his time vetoing laws. All pressure, tension, and attempts to sidestep the law do not come from the coalition and surely not from the SLD.

On many occasions, when asked the main reason for what has been going on in Poland, I said that the answer was simple. If, during the past five years, we have had no constitution, one president, three parliaments, six governments, and we are about to have the seventh, and also the seventh or eighth prime minister, and we still have the same president who thinks that he has carte blanche, this clearly shows where the main reason for the wars at the top and the conflicts lie. [end recording]

Adam Michnik Commentary on Political Crisis

95EP0050A Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4-5 Feb 95 pp 8-9

[Article by Adam Michnik: "The Failure of the Velvet Restoration; For God's Sake, Lech, Come to Your Senses...Instead of the Force of Law, It Could Be the Law of Force That Prevails"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] It also is the failure of Lech Walesa. A dramatic and grotesque failure. That symbol of Solidarity, that democratically elected president of Poland and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, is threatening to dissolve the Parliament and predicting anticonstitutional measures.

Lech Falandysz [deputy chief of presidential chancellery] said, "In my opinion, Walesa will dissolve the Sejm. He will do it gently. We shall emerge from Communism with that sense of humor appropriate for a country which gave birth to Witkacy and Gombrowicz [two leading 20th century Polish absurdist writers]."

Hence first we have to "emerge from Communism," an idea truly worthy of Gombrowicz's hired laborer.

As if reflecting Falandysz's faith in Gombrowicz-style humor, Lech Walesa declared, "There shall be no shooting, if only because I am a Nobel prize winner. I shall definitely call on neither the police nor the military to remove the deputies bodily from Sejm premises. I am not threatening at all. I shall never order shooting or beating a Pole," whereupon he added, "The police are solely to enforce law and order against those who disturb the peace."

A thief whom I got to know while I was incarcerated together with him at Mokotow Prison used to say, "Do not laugh at me, 'cause I got a score to settle."

At the same time the current prime minister is showing himself to be feckless and impotent, and the governing coalition still remains unable to restructure the government. In the year past the reforms were halted. Poland is losing its domestic stability and international credibility. Worse even, Poland is being menaced by a split between branches of government.

Let us assume that the president dissolves the parliament, whereupon the National Assembly impeaches him before the Tribunal of State. Next, the two executive branches of government, the president and the government, want to impose their will by resorting to instruments of force—the special services and the military. This may be a straight road to a dramatic internal conflict in which Poland and Polish democracy are bound to be losers. The man on the street, the Polish citizen, becomes faced by a choice unacceptable to him. Whom to support? Against whom should that person be supported? Should he support the disastrous prime minister against a president who acts contrary to the Constitution? Or should he support a law-breaking president against a prime minister who is ruining the country?

I fear the logic of the events that may unfold. I feel responsible for what may happen. That is why I shall try to tell the entire truth, from A to Z.

I

Lech Walesa won the presidential elections in the fall of 1990 as he then still continued to be the idol of the crowds, whom he promised miracles: a short road to prosperity, elimination of corruption and unemployment, a gift of 100 million zlotys to every citizen, and other pies in the sky. As his present term of office is nearing an end, he is leaving an ambivalent balance sheet—definite accomplishments along with bitter disappointments.

Walesa did not keep his promises, because he could not keep them. Despite al the foolishness and mistakes, however, he did not become a dictator, and at crucial moments he succeeded in protecting national interests and the economy. Now he is facing the decisive test.

I have always been fascinated by Lech Walesa as a human phenomenon. I have been his antagonist and critic, but I also have been his supporter and close associate. I warned him against wanting the presidency and I defended him against libelous accusations of having worked as an agent for the Security Service. In 1983, while in a Gdansk prison cell, summing up my experiences with Lech Walesa, I wrote:

"I was one of Lech Walesa's unhesistating critics. I was of the opinion that Walesa deliberately aspired to establish a personal dictatorship, to reign over Solidarity like a sultan, which would lead to decisionmaking by himself in concert with his 'courtiers.' I regarded this process as a gradual demise of Solidarity democracy. In attracting attention to his persona, Walesa satisfied the common need for the existence of a charismatic leader who knows everything, understands everything, and will lead Solidarity to victory. He succeeded in developing his image as a leader accepted by millions. At times he conducted himself like a great national leader—as when he repeated Kosciuszko's oath in Krakow—and at times he behaved like an ordinary worker, an equal among equals, rejecting dignity in favor of directness and humor. His language was magnificent, direct, and pithy, and he displayed superb intuition. He sensed unmistakably the mood of the crowd and knew how to say what was expected of him. There was a greatness to him.

"I feared Walesa. I feared his dexterity in juggling words and shrewdness in eliminating opponents. I feared his compromises and his obsession with negotiating with the government. I feared his susceptibility to the mafia-conspiracy view of the world, and I feared his entourage, among whom I saw many worthless and accidental people. I feared his dread of eminent personages and his endless repetition, 'Solidarity is me.'"

But I also, at that time, admitted my error.

"I was wrong in my appraisal of Lech Walesa as a whole. Walesa the chairman of NSZZ Solidarity proved to be worthy of his role. Disregarding occasional bad moves, Lech Walesa kept Solidarity together by his attitude and pertinacity. On returning to work at the shipyard, meeting with the TKK [Solidarity's National Coordinating Committee], and commenting on events in public life, he became the visible symbol of Polish resistance,

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the beacon flashing from Gdansk to all of Poland the successive signals of faith and hope. In combining resistance with moderation Lech Walesa gained the Nobel prize and the status of a universally acknowledged authority."

Subsequently I supported Walesa during the era of the underground, strikes, the roundtable [talks between the communist government and Solidarity in the first quarter of 1989], and the struggle to establish the first Solidarity government. It was only after he started "the war at the top" that our ways finally parted.

Walesa is of a certainty one of the most prominent individuals in 20th century politics. His strength resides in the ability to destroy; his problem is the inability to build. Walesa is a master destructor. And he is a politician who believes in his lucky star, in a kind of mission he was born for, which makes him incapable of critical self-analysis.

As one of his close associates explained to me, "Walesa has a peasant's feeling for ownership. The peasant owns his house, his barn, his cow. Whoever wants to take it away from him is a thief. The thief has to be chased with a rake. Walesa owns the Belweder. He considers it his property. And he considers anyone who wants to deprive him of that property as a thief who can be chased with a rake."

Now he wants to chase out with a rake 460 deputies and 100 senators.

Walesa certainly does not want to be a bloodthirsty dictator or the instigator of a coup d'etat like General Jaruzelski. His objective is a gentle "Yeltsin variant," the dispersal of the Parliament but without bloodshed and corpses. But the point is that Yeltsin too did not want to shed blood. He simply wanted to dissolve the parliament contrary to the constitution. Russia paid for it with dramatic shocks. And it is paying to this day, also by the bloodshed in Chechnya unleashed by generals who had won the war against the Russian parliament.

Once activated, the machinery of confrontation usually runs out of control.

II

On 19 September 1993, after four years of effective reforms and senseless conflicts within the former anticommunist opposition, the postcommunists returned to power. In place of faith in Walesa's thaumaturgic powers, there appeared a nostalgic faith in the miracle of the "restoration"—in the return of PRL-era [Polish Peoples Republic] entitlements, in a speedy elimination of unemployment, in cheap credit for agriculture, in prohibitive duties, in subsidies for inefficient enterprises.

Of course, no such things came to pass, because they could not happen. Instead, reforms in nearly every domain of public life were halted. Instead of continuation of the reforms, power was gradually encroached upon. Activists, especially from the PSL [Polish Peasant Party], greedily grabbed high positions and perks. Poland began to be ruled by Prime Minister Pawlak.

We shall omit the lengthy list of his eccentric ideas. Just a few examples: He nominated for the minister of defense such individuals as Ryszard Kaczorowski—the last president of the emigre Polish government, Longin Pastusiak—the longtime opponent of NATO, and Romuald Szeremetiew—the leader of one of the numerous parties of the radical right. Or consider the compromising style of his dismissal of the Ministers Kolodziejczyk and Olechowski, and also his embarrassing defense of the police chief who was involved in unclear instances of corruption. We shall only state the obvious: He is not the kind of prime minister whom Poland needs in difficult times. It would be good if Pawlak's fellow PSL politicians would finally understand it. Otherwise it will turn out that those who define PSL politicians as "PRL hangers-on" are right.

As for the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] while initially elated by their electoral win and return to power, they soon became the hostages of their coalition partner. Their participation in Pawlak's government has resulted in a long string of defeats, starting with the dismissal of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Marek Borowski. The SLD did not know how—apart from a few exceptions—or did not want to insist on a reform policy or an efficiently performing government. Poland has been losing valuable time, with months of stagnation passing while the coalition has continued to be rent by personal conflicts and corruption scandals. The arrogance of power from the era of real socialism returned, cynicism in public life triumphed, and the desuetude of the former apparatchiks [szmaciacy], now back in power, took the upper hand. The scandalous report of the Sejm subcommittee on the personnel policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reflects clearly the mentality of these orphans of real communism who long for times past.

All this became a gift to Lech Walesa. Striving to broaden the scope of his power, he began to present himself to public opinion as a consistent opponent of recommunization and corruption. At the same time he engaged in machinations to subordinate to himself the military, the special services, and television broadcasting. He speaks a brutal tongue, disdainful of his adversaries; a specific jargon combining simplistic bluntness with megalomania. He readily resorts to populism, branding "bad governing of Poland," and demands full power for himself. He demonstratively ignores the law and good democratic customs, as when he demanded the dismissal of Minister Kolodziejczyk and recalled his representatives on the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council. And he keeps repeating that he is "the greatest democrat" and that he "never makes mistakes." By means of a series of faits accomplis he has changed the constitutional order of the state. He now treats the state, as he once used to treat Solidarity—as his property. Although he keeps talking about "the left leg and the right leg" he respects neither the leftists nor the

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rightists, nor the centrists either. He acknowledges only those who "stand at attention."

Increasingly often the president's associates are referring to "parliamentocracy," which is a vivid reminder of the parliamentary rhetoric in the months preceding Pilsudski's coup d'etat of May 1926.

But Lech Walesa is not Jozef Pilsudski, and Waldemar Pawlak is not the Wincenty Witos [prime minister in 1926] whose government Pilsudski had toppled by his coup d'etat. However, the logic of things may be similar. Poland is being menaced by a conflict with incalculable consequences. The 1926 coup d'etat resulted in bloodshed and the drama of divided loyalty. At that time the politicians and military loyal to the legitimate government had been wondering what was more important: Fidelity to the Constitution or responsibility for national security? The former exposed Poland to the risk of a civil war and the latter led to yielding power to Pilsudski, who violated the Constitution.

At that time President Wojciechowski and Prime Minister Witos had opted for the logic of responsibility. But that did not save Polish democracy. Once activated, the machinery of lawlessness led to corruption scandals and voting frauds, to brutal repressions against the opposition, and to a primitive military semidictatorship exercised by the "cleansing colonels."

But I am not making any analogies. I am aware that nowadays the situation is quite different. Even so, the reciprocal stubbornness of President Walesa and Prime Minister Pawlak may imperil national security. Is Prime Minister Pawlak, until recently a pupil himself of President Walesa, capable of understanding that the political and moral capital of his government has become depleted? Are SLD politicians aware that by supporting Pawlak's government contrary to common sense they are bringing about destructive conflicts between the government and the president? Is it not time to reappraise the existing lines of division between the governing coalition and the opposition?

The declarations of the leaders of the Freedom Union (UW) and Union of Labor (UP) indicate that to them defending parliamentary democracy and a law-ruled state is a paramount issue. This is the best testimony to their patriotism and political responsibility, which of a certainty will not be forgotten by the public.

And lastly, is President Walesa aware that by acting to the detriment of parliamentary democracy he is nullifying his lifelong accomplishments and exposing the Polish state to an inadmissible risk?

III

Democracy is a difficult art of governing. It requires patience and frequent compromises, and it is unjust. Democracy means at the same time liberty within the confines of the law and a tradition of respect for public opinion. But at the same time, as a wise Britisher said, democracy is the worst form of government, with the exception of all the others tried so far.

The actions of the president and the prime minister may result in destroying that democratic order which Poles have been so arduously building for five years. These actions may lead to loss of faith in the meaning of respect for rule of law. Instead of force of law, force of brute strength may prevail.

That is why defense of the democratic order is the supreme duty of Poles. The behest of the moment is that the Pawlak government be dismissed and a government assuring an efficient executive be formed. Also needed is firm opposition to the authoritarian leanings of President Walesa. The government of Waldemar Pawlak has proved that it also is incapable of such opposition.

I am not claiming that the dismissal of the government would obviate the threat of the president's anticonstitutional actions. But I do claim that Pawlak's obdurate clinging to his office as prime minister is making this threat more tangible.

The new government, once it is formed, must safeguard domestic tranquility during the next few months in which a tempestuous electoral campaign will be waged. It should be a government consisting of all those parliamentary groupings which view the defense of democracy as a paramount principle. Such a government must be the guardian of fundamental Polish interests at a minimum: national sovereignty, a foreign policy linking Poland to the world of Western democracy, and principles of full respect for freedom of conscience and creed.

IV

It is not pleasant to be a Cassandra. But I find it vital—as awareness and conscience bid me—to repeat: Poland is in peril. Waldemar Pawlak's government is injurious to the quality of democracy in the Polish state. President Lech Walesa, on his part, is predicting actions injurious to the very nature of Polish democracy.

I belong to a generation which had for decades struggled for democracy. Today we have no choice. We must protect this democracy, however fragile and fallible it may be. The bitterest, most grotesque, and most tragic finale of our struggle would be if we were to defend Polish democracy in alliance with our past enemies against Lech Walesa, our past leader.

For God's sake, Lech, come to your senses....

Police Strike Spreads Throughout Country

WS1002142195 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by Katarzyna Kesicka: "Police Protest Spreads Nationwide: Police Headquarters Flagged"]

[FBIS Translated Text] All police headquarters and police cars in the country are to be flagged starting today:

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the National Committee of the police trade unions decided yesterday to stage a nationwide protest. The policemen are not demanding a pay increase—they want money for gas, police cars, weapons, and renovation of dilapidated police headquarters.

"The police are on the verge of ruin and are ineffective. Unless the situation changes we will not be able to guarantee public safety. The perpetrator will chase the police, not vice versa," said head of the National Executive Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of the Police [KKW NSZZ "P"] Jan Malek explaining the reasons for the nationwide decision of the police to join the week-long protest of policemen in Bydgoszcz.

The policemen will distribute handouts detailing the reasons for the protest.

"People should finally learn the truth. That the police cannot guarantee them safety on the rivers and lakes of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship because it has only one motorboat purchased 17 years ago. That police cars patrol cities for only one hour instead of eight because there is no money to purchase gas. That we lack 40 billion old zlotys [Z] for purchasing weapons, that funds allocated to communications cover 0.8 percent of the needs, and that there is not a zloty for purchases of new police cars this year. Several headquarters buildings may collapse. We need Z7 trillion old to satisfy the most urgent needs," says Henryk Wrobel from Bydgoszcz.

The policemen are demanding that the government enter talks with them because the interior minister has already appealed for more funding. Without any effect. They want a written guarantee from the government that it will prevent the collapse of the police by increasing its budget. They believe the government should be obliged to allocate a regular percent of the GDP for internal safety each year, as is the case in the Army.

"We also demand that the annual budget bills no longer provide for reducing police manpower. The minimum of staff workers required by the police bill is 105,000. Meanwhile, this year's budget provides for only 97,000 staff workers. We believe the police should be separated from the Ministry of Internal Affairs structure, and become a separate unit of the central state administration," says Andrzej Zwanski from KKW NSZZ "P."

One third of the police force are members of NSZZ "P," but the unionists have no doubt all police officers will take part in the protest. If the government does not enter negotiations, they warn that they will take more radical action, for instance by putting out silent pickets of uniformed policemen outside headquarters buildings and informing about the critical condition of the police through loudspeakers from police cars in the streets. The police have no right to strike but they do not rule out the possibility that if the need arises they will ask other trade unions to carry out a solidarity strike.

Report Says Army Highly Dependent Upon President

WS1002155295 Poznan WPROST in Polish 12 Feb 95 p 11

[Article by Miroslaw Cielemiecki: "The President's Sword"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The fates of the heads of General Staff and chief commanders of the military regions who participated in the famous Drawsko dinner, a group which includes everyone who has any command-giving powers in the Army, now hugely depend on the fate of the president. Lech Walesa's defeat in the elections and changes in the current system of command in the Army, within which the head of General Staff is practically uncommitted to the [defense] minister, would most probably lead to their dismissal.*

Generals who have refused to follow the instructions of their superiors would rather not win the trust of a new minister, who would act according to norms applied in Western political systems. Lech Walesa is the only guarantor of the current status quo as all other significant political forces advocate civilian control over the Army.

The generals do not conceal the fact they are against further cuts in manpower within the Armed Forces, a necessity recently pointed out by acting Defense Minister Jerzy Milewski. They believe the stringent defense budget is a result not of the state's poor financial resources, but rather a lack of sympathy, competence, and good will on behalf of politicians and parliament. They simultaneously fail to observe that a huge share of budgetary means are devoured by the still excessive expansion of military bureaucracy.

Institutions connected with the General Staff continue to grow. New links are also added onto the chain of bureaucracy.

The outdated voivodship military staffs, for instance, are to be replaced by new organizational units—regional staffs.

According to unofficial sources, once the Army is reorganized employment will have risen by nearly 100 percent. An additional 15 or 17 general's posts will appear. Only the president and his closest associates have any empathy for the generals.

Jan Nowak-Jezioranski warns that there exists a real threat that someone might attempt a coup considering that "the low social spirits, apathy within the military, and the impotence of parliament it is enough to surround the Sejm, the Office of the Council of Ministers, and radio and television buildings with several troop units to overthrow democracy and introduce law and order."

Meanwhile, as recent research conducted by the Military Institute of Sociological Research [WIBS] indicates, the president's love for the Army is not reciprocal, aside from a circle of devoted generals. As many as 72 percent of the officer cadres claim the president does not serve the citizens well. Simultaneously, 84.2 percent of the

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military claim the Army should primarily defend the territory of its country against external aggressors. A mere 12.8 percent of soldiers admit the possibility of employing the Army for "preserving internal law and order."

One may hardly expect that the Army will feel compassion for the president's lawless decisions. As many as 60 percent of professional officers declare that "law is law and should be observed, even when it seems unjust," and 61 percent of professional soldiers claim "it is better to observe the law even if it implies a delay in solving a specific problem." Only 20 percent of those polled last December by WIBS approve of illegal solutions to various problems, 70 percent of the officer cadres say legitimacy implies primarily the observance of law, and 62 percent claim democracy is the supreme political system.

In reply to the question of what values a "model" officer should represent, 76 percent pointed to responsibility.

The most important element in the military, according to 78.7 percent, is discipline.

One must not forget that disapproval of the president and respect for the law aside, filling out orders is a solemn duty. The orders are issued by superiors, the highest ranking officers. More than 200,000 people making up the hierarchic structure remain—if not an effective tool—at least an effective scarecrow.

"The group of generals centered around head of the General Staff, General of Arms Tadeusz Wilecki, is ready to carry out any order issued by Lech Walesa immediately," claims former Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

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Ethnic Hungarians Respond to 'Allegation'

LD1002180495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR; in Romanian, UDMR] is denying an allegation made by the Romanian president's spokesman. The spokesman said it was unconstitutional to use the Hungarian flag and to sing the Hungarian national anthem at an unveiling ceremony a week ago [4th February] in Odorheiu Secuiesc [Szekelyudvarhely].

The HDUR stresses that what they hoisted at the ceremony was not the Hungarian national flag but the Hungarian nation's colors. As far as the text of the Hungarian national anthem is concerned, it is one of the psalms.

The HDUR calls attention to the fact that Romania has signed international agreements that guarantee the use of national symbols for minorities.

Election of Standing Bureaus

Senate

AU1102184395 Bucharest VOCEA ROMANIEI in Romanian 7 Feb 95 p 2

[Article by Adela Dinica: "The Election of the Senate's Standing Bureau"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The upper chamber of the parliament, the Senate, met on 6 February at Omnia Hall in its first ordinary session of 1995. After Romania's state anthem had been played, there was a moment of silence, at Senate Speaker Oliviu Gherman's suggestion, in memory of the great statesman Iuliu Maniu, who died on 4 February 1953.

According to the program, the whole day was reserved for the election of the new Standing Bureau. According to Article 61 of the Constitution and Article 21 of the Senate rules, except for the president, the members of the Standing Bureau are chosen at the start of each session. Following consultations among the leaders of the parliamentary groups, it was decided that the posts during the current legislative session should be distributed as follows: one post of vice president to each of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], the Democratic Party [PD], and the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]; one post of secretary each to the PDSR, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], and the National Bloc [PN]; and one post of quaestor to the PDSR.

In accordance with the algorithm to date—that is, in accordance with the political configuration of the Senate that has emerged since the elections—the two others posts left unoccupied, posts of secretary and quaestor, were disputed by the PNTCD, the PD, and the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] and the National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD].

As the negotiations between the leaders of the respective parliamentary groups had led to no result, after lively disputes in the plenary session, the problem was submitted to a vote by the Senate. On the basis of the votes expressed, the PD obtained the post of secretary and the PAC the post of quaestor.

At the proposal of the parliamentary groups, the plenary session approved the following composition of the Senate's Standing Bureau: Oliviu Gherman (PDSR), president; Ion Solcanu (PDSR), Radu Vasile (PNTCD), Dan Vasiliu (PD), and Valer Suian (Romanian National Unity Party-PUNR), vice presidents; Mihai Matetovici (PDSR), Gabor Kozsokar (Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania-UDMR), Sorin Vornicu (PD), and Corneliu Vadim Tudor (PN), secretaries; Constantin Sava (PDSR) and Emil Negrutiu (PAC), quaestors.

Chamber of Deputies

AU1102184495 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Feb 95 p 3

[Article by Ana Maria Vinta and Dorina Baescu: "The PNTCD Replaced Ion Ratiu as Deputy Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As happens with each start of a new parliamentary session, the Chamber of Deputies elected the members of its Standing Bureau yesterday. Unlike the previous session when there was much scandal about few changes, this time several important changes were made without much hullabaloo. First of all, the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD]-Romanian Ecology Party [PER] Group decided to replace Ion Ratiu as deputy speaker—with Vasile Lupu, a lawyer and deputy from Iasi. This came as no big surprise, since an attempt had been made to dethrone Ratiu at the start of the previous session. However, at that time he had Corneliu Coposu [PNTCD president] on his side, while now, due to the gaffe he made in his interview with the magazine EXPRES [in which he criticized Coposu and the PNTCD's leadership], Ratiu has lost the support of the PNTCD president and the sympathy of most of his colleagues.

Vasile Lupu's victory came after two ballots. Ratiu, Lupu, and Rasvan Dobrescu participated in the first ballot, after which only the first two contenders were left in the race. Lupu won the second ballot by 19 votes to 17. Ioan Muresan, PNTCD, was elected quaestor, thus defeating the other candidate, Sorin Lepsa.

In another vein, the three liberal parties—Liberal Party '93 [PL'93], Civic Alliance Party [PAC], and National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention [PNL-CD]—united to form a single parliamentary group called the Civic-Liberal Group. Since the liberal group has thus reached the number of 28 deputies, it asked for a seat on

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the Standing Bureau, but, as was only to be expected, plenty of arguments were found to reject this request.

Therefore, in keeping with the algorithm of the representation in the Standing Bureau, the liberals will only obtain a post in the next session: namely, that of secretary—and not deputy speaker, as they would have liked.

The composition of the new Standing Bureau is as follows: Adrian Nastase (Social Democracy Party of Romania—PDSR), speaker; Dan Martian (PDSR), Ioan Gavra (Romanian National Unity Party—PUNR), Radu Berceanu (Democratic Party—PD), and Vasile Lupu (PNTCD) deputy speakers; Ovidiu Petrescu (PDSR), Laszlo Borbely (Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR), Emil Putin (PDSR), and Ion Marinescu (Greater Romania Party—PRM) (instead of the deceased Mircea Musat), secretaries; Ioan Muresan (PNTCD), Cristian Radulescu (PD), Stefan Tkaciuc (who replaces Gheorghe Raducanu, for the Minorities Group), and, lastly, Emil Stoica (PDSR), quaestors.

Writers Union Appoints New Chairman

AU1102215695 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 Feb 95 p 8

[Mediafax report: "Laurentiu Ulici New Chairman of the Writers Union"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Friday 3 February, Laurentiu Ulici was appointed chairman of the Writers' Union of Romania for a period of two years. On the same day, the new Union statutes was voted on and passed without significant modifications, compared to the draft that preceded the mandate.

The new Steering Council of the Writers' Union, which includes 51 members proposed by the branches to which the respective members belong, was elected Friday night. The founding meeting of the Council was held at the Monteoru House on Saturday, 4 February. During the meeting, Florin Iaru was elected vice president of the Union and the Steering Committee, and the commissions of the Writers' Union were also elected.

The members of the Steering Committee are as follows: Laurentiu Ulici, Florin Iaru, Cezar Baltag, Zsolt Galfalvi, Nicolae Prelipceanu, Mihai Sin, Tudor Dumitru Savu, Magdalena Bedrosian, Iosif Naghiu, Costache Olareanu, and Gabriel Dimisianu.

The Steering Council of the Union also elected an honorary commission, which includes the following members: Ana Blandiana, Mircea Horia Simionescu, Stefan Augustin Doinas, Costache Olareanu, Aurel Rau, Alexandru Paleologu, and Mihai Ursachi.

Radioactive Discharges Blamed for Anomalies

AU1302090495 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Feb 95 p 16

[Article by Sorina Vlaicu: "Cancer and Congenital Malformations—Radiation From Chernobyl and K zloduy Reached Bucharest, Too"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Half of the 279 deaths of infant under one year of age in 1994 took place in maternity clinics due to congenital malformations and prenatal afflictions," said Professor Dr. Nicolae Angelescu, director of the Bucharest Health Care Directorate.

The effects of radioactive discharge from nuclear power plants in Chernobyl and Kozloduy can be felt in Bucharest, too, especially through an increase in the number of cancer cases and congenital malformations. So far, 30,085 patients with malign tumors have been registered and 4,955 new cases were discovered in 1994. Of the total 24,502 deaths, cancer represents the second major cause of death, after heart disorders. The small number of births: 477 [as published], means natural population growth in 1994 is seriously negative at minus 3.4 per thousand inhabitants. The greatest decline in population growth has been registered in Bucharest Sector 1, with only 8.8 per thousand inhabitants.

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Durakovic: Tudjman Speech 'Stab in the Back'

AU1102212695 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 11 Feb 95

[Report by Aleksander Mlac from Sarajevo]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Yesterday's statement by Croatian President Tudjman at a news conference in Zagreb, which linked the continuation of the process of establishing the Muslim-Croatian Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the formation of the Croatian-Bosnian confederation, was met with extremely negative reactions in Sarajevo today.

True enough, there is still no official statement for the public. However, in an interview for Radio Slovenia, Nijaz Durakovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, emphasized that this was Tudjman's latest stab in the back of not merely the Federation but also the peace process in general.

According to Durakovic, the Washington Agreement explicitly singles out the Federation as a priority. A possible confederation with Croatia should only be contemplated afterward, while the final decision will depend on the outcome of a referendum of all Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic, Steiner Discuss Future Bonn Visit

AU1002210095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President of the Presidency Alija Izetbegovic today received Michael Steiner, Germany's representative on the Contact Group. Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic also attended the talks. The topic discussed was President Izetbegovic's forthcoming visit to Bonn and the possible tripartite meeting between the presidents of Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The chances of continuing the peace process, if the Serbian aggressor side accepts the Contact Group plan, were also discussed. Moreover, the talks also focused on problems in implementing the Washington Agreement, bilateral relations between the two countries and in this context, the government delegation's forthcoming visit to Germany. Both sides assessed the talks as extremely useful and in the spirit of mutual understanding, B-H PRESS learned from the Office of the President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

MBO Hails Silajdzic's Policy in Russia

AU1002175495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 95

[Report by Samir Huseinovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mujo Kafedzic, vice president of the Muslim Bosniak Organization's [MBO] Main Council, has set out the party's position on the implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and stressed that the Federation is a vital interest of all the peoples in our country. The implementation of the Federation is a prerequisite for our delegation's successful negotiations with the international community. The insincere approach to the negotiations on the part of the ruling parties [Party of Democratic Action, SDA; and Croatian Democratic Community, HDZ] can only widen the gap and lead to a freshly drastic situation, which is not in the interest of either the Bosniak or the Croatian people.

That is why the MBO condemns all attempts at obstructing the implementation of the Federation. As for the latest cease-fire, it has not brought any changes in the encircled regions, Kafedzic said and added:

The situation in Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Gorazde, and particularly Bihac, continues to be extremely difficult and complex. By not observing the cease-fire, the aggressor has tried to crush the resistance of the 5th Corps with all its might, but thanks to the heroic defense, [words indistinct] heavy losses in manpower and military hardware.

The MBO, Kafedzic stressed, hails Prime Minister Silajdzic's success during his visit to Russia. This is proof that only an aggressive foreign policy can strengthen and improve Bosnia-Herzegovina's international position. Russia, aware of the dangers of Chechnya and other Caucasian republics seceding, is no longer in a position to support Karadzic and his yes-men. Belgrade must be included in the peace negotiations based on the Contact Group plan, and the international community must exert pressure on the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, concluded Kafedzic, vice president of the MBO Main Council.

Opposition Parties Denounce Two-Party Monopoly

LD1102162695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Advocating the reaffirmation of the Bosnian presidency's platform on the peace process and in view of the obstacles and slow pace in the implementation of the Federation's Constitution, the Social Democratic Party, the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats, the Muslim Bosniak Organizations, the Croat Peasant Party, and the Republican Party—committed to coordinating their activities in the future—have issued a political proclamation saying among other things:

The platform for the functioning of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency under war conditions gathered all patriotic forces of this country around the most democratic principles of internal setup, the equality of its peoples, political pluralism, and human rights and freedoms. Regardless of the structural changes that have happened since then, especially those resulting from the Washington agreement and the Muslim-Croat Federation's Constitution, the letter and the spirit of the

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platform remain in effect as the prescribed measure of political activity of all relevant political players in Bosnia-Herzegovina because the platform was not denied or reversed by any relevant organization.

On the basis of the platform and the Federation's Constitution, adopted by consensus as the final outcome of the Washington Agreement, and with serious objections to the method and speed of the implementation of the Washington Agreement, the opposition parties point to the necessity that all patriotic forces, all citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and all relevant players should be included in the new organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as specified in the preamble of the Federation's Constitution. The Federation is a way and form of the internal state and legal transformation of the former state setup of Bosnia-Herzegovina, so we see it as a path toward the final building of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a complex state community.

The lack of efficiency [in the implementation of the Constitution] is the result of the obstacles arising from the monopoly of the two largest parties. No one has the monopoly on patriotism, awakened in a special way during this war, or on the documents that are the basis for a new political setup of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Federation is not a federation of the ethnic states of two nations, and certainly not of two political parties. It is, as is specified in the Constitution, the Federation of constituent units. Or are we again witnessing some tacit deviations from what was agreed? [passage omitted]

Delic: FRY, Croatian Serb Fight 5th Corps

AU1002213095 Paris AFP in English 2108 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Feb 10 (AFP)—The commander-in-chief of the Bosnian Armed Forces, General Rasim Delic, snubbed a UN invitation Friday to meet with his Serb and Croat counterparts, accusing the UN and the Serbs of breaking their word.

In a letter read out on Bosnian television, Delic said he "could not accept the proposed meeting" at the invitation of UN commander General Rupert Smith as neither the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) nor the Serb side had met their commitments under the four-month ceasefire that came into effect on January 1. [passage omitted]

Delic also separately gave a television interview in which he said that there were between 3,000 and 3,500 troops fighting in special Serb units from Nis in Serbia and eastern Slavonia in Croatia. He added other units from the Serb-held Croatian region of Krajina were also aiding the Serb war effort in Bosnia.

"Their goal is to crush the 5th corps (of the Bosnian Army fighting in the Bihac pocket) and to link their territories," Delic said, blaming Belgrade for the Serb offensive as well as the Bosnian and Croatian Serbs' leaders.

"The Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina has profited from the ceasefire to reinforce itself" and to "retain the initiative it had before the accord," Delic explained.

Delic Says Talks With Serbs Must Be Held

LD1202192095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting between Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Commander General Rasim Delic and Gen. Rupert Smith, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina was held in the Canadian UNPROFOR base in Visoko today. The meeting was also attended by Brigadier General Enver Hadzihasanovic, the chief of the general staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The meeting was prompted by a letter that Gen. Delic had sent to Gen. Smith on 10 February 1995 citing reasons why he was not able to take part in a previously agreed meeting at the level of commanders.

At the meeting today, Gen. Smith again insisted that the above-mentioned meeting ought to be held, arguing that the implementation of signed agreements can be speeded up only through talks. Army Gen. Delic repeated arguments from his letter, stressing that despite precisely set out obligations and conclusions from previous meetings of the central joint commission, the Serb aggressor side and UNPROFOR have not fulfilled their obligations. This primarily refers to the cease-fire and the opening of a humanitarian aid corridor for the Bihac enclave. To the contrary, the Serb aggressor side has taken advantage of the time and has launched the fiercest offensive against the Bihac enclave so far, about which Gen. Smith was particularly warned.

Gen. Delic asked for an unconditional cease-fire to be established, the offensive against Bihac to be urgently halted, and the corridor for sending in humanitarian aid to the Bihac enclave be opened immediately. He also insisted that a meeting of the central joint commission be held in Bihac by 15 February 1995, when the actions and obligations from the cease-fire agreement referring to Bihac would be put into practice.

Gen. Smith accepted the request for the postponement of the meeting at the level of commanders; he also accepted the obligation to try to influence the realization of Gen. Delic's request. At the end of the talks today, Gen. Smith was clearly told that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army would not allow the aggression against the Bihac enclave to continue and that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army could no longer be the only side that fulfills all agreed obligations, while the other side—the Serb aggressor—continues its offensive actions as it did before the agreement was signed.

Izetbegovic Writes to Tuzla Mayor About Evictions

AU1002165995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the state Presidency, today sent an open letter to Tuzla Mayor Selim Beslagic that reads as follows:

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In connection to (?your) letter in which you informed me that the troops who recently moved into apartments in the Slavinovici district claimed that I had told them to do so, I would like to state the following:

I, of course, do not believe that people should take justice into their own hands, in this case that they should—without going through the appropriate channels—move into an apartment, nor have I authorized anyone to do so, but at the same time, I am against the maintenance of empty or semiempty apartments while refugee families with six or eight members live in a single room or [words indistinct]. Namely, I know that Tuzla has a significant number of apartments whose tenants have been away for some time and whose whereabouts are unknown. Some of them have crossed over to enemy territory and have left someone to look out for their apartments. Moreover, very often, we have cases where apartments are not utilized rationally, for example, in cases when the tenants separated and now one person lives in a large three-room or four-room apartment. There are a large number of such cases in Tuzla, Zenica, Sarajevo, and other places, and they are an example of a violation of the law, this time on the part of the authorities.

I say this because legal regulations—applicable to both abandoned apartments and those not rationally utilized—are quite clear, but the relevant authorities—for various, often unprincipled reasons—are not implementing them. Our troops and our refugees who are suffering under extremely adverse conditions see this, and it is then that undesirable situations—such as the most recent one in your town—occur. I do not need to remind you that the people themselves, in their own way, will see that justice is done if the authorities fail to do so. Therefore, I believe that the only way out of the existing situation is to find empty, or semiempty apartments, and to move the troops' families—currently homeless—into them. Everything else may be the law, and legal articles, but it is not justice, reads President Izetbegovic's letter addressed to Tuzla Mayor Selim Beslagic.

Turkish Delegation Holds Meetings in Sarajevo

TA1102194695 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 11 Feb 95

[Burhan Ozdemir video report from Sarajevo]

[FBIS Translated Text] Members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly Bosnia-Herzegovina Investigation Committee, headed by Sait Kemal Mimaroglu, were received by Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Siladjdzic in Sarajevo today.

[Begin Mimaroglu recording] The prime minister told us that he is grateful for Turkey's support. He asked for Turkey's support in promoting the cause of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the world and ensuring that Bosnia-Herzegovina is recognized by other nations as well. Our committee declared that it will do its utmost to accord this support. Our duty is to explain the reality of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the whole world as it is. [end recording]

Before this meeting, the members of the delegation met with the Republic and Federal parliament delegations. Later, they toured the cemetery and market place in Sarajevo. The Turkish parliamentary delegation will be received by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic tomorrow.

Islamization of Sarajevo School Curriculum

95P20492A Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 95 p 12

[Article by V.C. "Even the Primer by Allah"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] By a recent decision of the Ministry of Education in the Muslim Government in Sarajevo, Serbian and Croatian writers were eliminated from the school curriculum. Now the children will learn about life, love and the past only from an ethnically pure literature—the works of 21 Muslim writers. [passage omitted]

UNHCR Employee Involved in 'Abductions'

AU1002212895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prompted by the UNHCR statement on the detention of two members of the humanitarian organization, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry today issued a statement, which reads as follows:

On 9 February, Svetlana Boskovic, born in 1965 and with permanent residence in the temporarily occupied district of Ilidza, was arrested and detained. As a UNHCR employee, Svetlana Boskovic was on several occasions directly involved in abductions of Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens from UN Protection Force vehicles at the aggressor's checkpoints on a section of the airport route.

Pursuant to the agreement signed between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and the United Nations, the airport route is under the control of the peace forces. Svetlana Boskovic on 9 February illegally resided in the part of the city controlled by the legitimate Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities, where she was brought by a UNHCR vehicle under still unclear circumstances. The vehicle was driven by Zeljko Simic, a driver with the UNHCR, who was released on the same day together with the vehicle, since there was no reason to prolong his detention or file charges against him. Svetlana Boskovic remains in detention, reads the statement issued by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Interior Ministry.

Armed Man Commandeers UN Vehicle Near Ilidza

AU1202142695 Paris AFP in English 1334 GMT 12 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Feb 12 (AFP)—An armed man commandeered an all-terrain vehicle

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belonging to UN military observers (UNMO) early Sunday [12 February] north of Ilidza, a Sarajevo suburb under Serb control, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said.

The man made the two UN officers inside drive him to another Serb-held suburb, Vogosca, Major Herve Gourmelon said, adding attempts were being made to recover the vehicle. The incident followed an attack Friday on a building housing other UNMOs in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale. On that occasion, four armed masked men carried off UN equipment on board a UN lorry.

Theft of UN vehicles has become a common occurence in Bosnia- Herzegovina. In Mostar, in the south, EU officials based in the city have spotted some 150 cars which originally belonged to various UN agencies driving around the Croatian part of town.

UN Confirms Arrival of Serb Troops From Croatia

AU1302113795 Paris AFP in English 1115 GMT 13 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Feb 13 (AFP)—About 1,000 more Serb fighters have arrived in Bihac, western Bosnia from Croatia to join the battle against the Moslem-led government army being waged by Serb and rebel Moslem forces, UN officials said Monday.

The Serbs arrived from the Serb-controlled Krajina region of Croatia aboard 32 lorries and 12 coaches on Sunday, members of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said. The men, whom UNPROFOR said were Bosnian not Croatian Serbs, crossed the border at Uzljebic, a spokesman said. He said the Bosnian Serbs might have been in Krajina on a training course or may have just passed through the region.

The situation in Bihac was relatively calm on Sunday evening in comparison with fierce fighting over the past few days. UNPROFOR recorded about 200 explosions attributed to mortar or cannon fire on Sunday evening and 120 during the night. Earlier, Bosnian government soldiers captured some ground in an attack near the village of Zavalje, UNPROFOR spokesman Herve Gourmelon said.

At Velika Kladusa, the stronghold of pro-Serb Moslem rebel warlord Fikret Abdic, fighting waned with about 60 shells being fired during Sunday afternoon and overnight. UN observers reported only four detonations at Bosanska Krupa, a Serb-held town in eastern Bihac. However, Gourmelon said there was no permanent UN observation post in that area and that the fragmentary reports received from the region tended to minimise the level of fighting. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, a patrol of UN military observers reported seeing a 105 mm cannon in the Bosnian-controlled village of Hrasnica at the bottom of Mount Igman near Sarajevo. If the report is verified, it would constitute a violation of the 20 kilometer (12 mile) heavy weapons exclusion zone established round Sarajevo a year ago.

The UN military observers were prevented from checking on the type of cannon involved and a Bosnian liaison officer said it was a 40 mm gun used for training.

Serb Helicopters Allegedly Used on Bihac Front

AU1302104995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Throughout the night and this morning, heavy artillery-tank and infantry clashes with the joint aggressor's units, which have made several attempts at infantry breakthroughs at Zavalje, Debeljaca, Sokolac, and Zegar to breach the city defenses, have been underway around Bihac. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps, Croatian Defense Council, and units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs responded effectively and routed the enemy, inflicting heavy personnel and hardware losses.

Because of this failure, the joint aggressor has been shelling Bihac and the surrounding area all night and this morning. Several civilians have been wounded, and material damage is considerable. The fighting around the protected zone of Bihac continues this morning.

Fierce fighting is also under way around Velika Kladusa, and the entire defense line from Johovica to [word indistinct] is under heavy tank and artillery attack. Fresh soldiers and military hardware are being brought into the area from the so-called Serb Krajina.

The Bosanska Krupa front, which enemy forces have been attacking with artillery, tanks, Bofors guns, and helicopters, is literally on fire with ferocious fighting and explosions. The aggressor has deployed combat helicopters for the fighting in that area.

Ganic Meets UNPROFOR Commander on Bihac

LD1102154095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, had talks today with General Rupert Smith, the UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the situation in the Bihac region. Ganic said Bihac serves as a test to see whether the aggressors truly want to respect the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. Judging by everything, the aggressors continue their practice of observing the agreement selectively and interpreting it in the way which suits them best.

In line with the agreement on the cessation of hostilities, UNPROFOR has taken on specific duties in the Bihac region, which it has failed to fulfill so far. Ganic said that a different kind of a military and political situation is

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rising in the Bihac region. The Federation vice president pointed out that the humanitarian situation in Bihac is tragic. Food supplies by helicopters are be vital for this region. The reasons given by UNPROFOR for its impotence, such as the different nature of operations due to aggressor missile systems, are unacceptable because the same missile systems have been used in the vicinity of Sarajevo airport without obstructing daily flights.

Ganic and Smith also discussed some new aspects of cooperation between the legitimate Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and UNPROFOR, as well as specific joint actions.

'Critical' Situation for Croats in Tuzla Region

LD1202182595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 12 Feb 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zvornik, Feb. 12 (TANJUG)—Media of the Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosna and the Republic of Croatia on Sunday warned that the situation was critical for Croats in the area of Tuzla.

Muslim military and civilian authorities in this region in northeastern Bosnia frequently 'harass Croats, forcibly mobilize those who are fit into Muslim units, and evict many of them from their apartments and houses and banish them,' media said.

Media reports gave as a 'characteristic and critical' example that of the village of Kladinovici, where Croat houses were recently taken over by Muslim soldiers who used force to throw out the owners.

These and other incidents only 'confirm to what extent Croats are threatened in the common state, already at this early stage,' the reports said.

It is quite clear that the 'Muslim leadership in Sarajevo' wishes to 'restore the sovereign and integral, but Islamic, Bosnia-Herzegovina,' Croatian officials and media have said.

In such a state 'Croats would be second-rate citizens, which is unacceptable to them,' the officials and media said.

HDZ's Vidovic on Position of Sarajevo Croats

LD1302120395 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Our guest today is Ivan Vidovic, head of the Sarajevo Committee of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]. The committee's delegation has visited Bosnia-Herzegovina HDZ headquarters in Mostar and they informed the HDZ leadership about the very difficult position of Sarajevo Croats, unsuccessful attempts to reestablish the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] in the city, and other initiatives to preserve the presence of and respect for Croats in Sarajevo. Let us hear our guest:

[Vidovic] Sarajevo Croats are really in a very difficult situation regarding personnel and personnel policy as well as housing problems. The number of Croat officials is decreasing as well as the number of Croat managers and members of management boards in companies vital for the state, i.e., the city of Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

We want to return Sarajevo's Croat brigade to the HVO ranks. The Bosniak [Muslim] side will not accept this easily, but we will continue our struggle and efforts to return it to the HVO. I have to say that the brigade had 4,000 soldiers before the transformation [to Bosnian Army Command] took place. Now the brigade has between 1,100 and 1,200 soldiers. All others have disappeared somewhere, they have left Sarajevo, and there is a shortage of Croat personnel in the city now, as they were mainly from the ranks of the Croat brigade. Croat youth has left Sarajevo and the question now is: Who will return. If Sarajevo's status is resolved, it would guarantee the survival of the Croats. People living outside Sarajevo have told me that at least 300 young Croats would return immediately if they could count on positions somewhere in the police force or some kind of a military unit that would serve the interests of the Croat people in the city of Sarajevo.

Karadzic Cited on Mexican Developments

PA1102163395 Mexico City XEW Television Network in Spanish 0430 GMT 11 Feb 95

[Report on interview with Serbian leader Radovan Karadzic by Kasia Wyderk in Pale; date not given; from the "24 Hours" newscast—from the "ECO" News Service]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mexico is present in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the headquarters of the UN peacekeeping force and at the Bosnian-Serb government seat here in Pale. Televisa Television Network can be seen via satellite at the Bosnian presidential building in Sarajevo. All parties in the conflict here, as well as the blue helmets, follow "ECO" reports from all across the world, including from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Karadzic recording in Serbo-Croatian with translation into Spanish provided in subtitles] We have always loved Mexico for its songs, which we sing here. We love Mexico because of Pancho Villa and other national heroes. What I wish for Mexico is that it never has to live through what Yugoslavia has. I send the Mexicans this message: Do not let anyone dismember your country. Do not divide the country into several states. I understand Mexico is a federation of states. Mexico must be one single nation. If it disintegrates, it will suffer the same war we are suffering here. [end recording]

"ECO" News Service has been working now for five years in the Balkans, where much blood has been shed. All across the country and amid the madness of war everyone welcomes us with respect, eager to help us do our work. Of course, they could not be indifferent. Whether in Pale, Sarajevo, or Mostar, soldiers in the

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trenches and politicians in their offices, all exhausted from the war, told us the same thing: We hope Mexico is shielded from something like this happening.

Dodik Favors Talks; Says Public Poorly Informed

AU1002155195 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The public in the Serb republic is not fully informed about the Contact Group peace plan for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was said today by Milorad Dodik, chairman of the caucus of the independent deputies in the Serb republic assembly, at a news conference in Laktasi near Banja Luka.

Branislav Bozic reports:

[Begin Bozic recording] This is the crucial period for the Serbian people and the Serb republic for the constitution of their state. If we leave the peace process, everything might prove to have been in vain. However, if we accept the Contact Group plan as the basis for negotiations, we have realistic chances of achieving our national goals.

These were Milorad Dodik's words at the beginning of the news conference. According to him, the Serbian side has been given a fully equal negotiating status with the latest interpretations of the Contact Group plan, the Serb republic army will remain at its present positions until a final solution is reached, and there is also the option of territorial exchanges following agreement between the warring sides. The independent deputies' caucus, Dodik stressed, proposes that the Serb republic assembly at its session on Monday [13 February] in Samac should determine the priorities concerning the territorial demarcation. He criticized the state leadership and the media in the Serb republic, accusing them of creating the atmosphere in the public that the Contact Group plan implies only the proposed maps. He stressed that there was more to the plan and, besides, even the maps were subject to change.

He further stressed that the constitutional principles and the proposal for a union provided the negotiators with good room for maneuver. The proposed union of Bosnia-Herzegovina could not survive in practice and at the same time there is the possibility of establishing certain ties with Serbia and the FRY, which in reality would mean exactly what the people in the Serb republic want, Dodik said.

He also told reporters today that 20 deputies in the Serb republic Assembly—some of them from the ruling Serbian Democratic Party—would demand at Monday's session the resignation of Miroslav Toholj, information minister in the government of the Serb republic. According to Dodik, he is responsible for the poor functioning of the entire information system, as well as displaying favoritism toward the information offices in Pale to the detriment of those in Banja Luka, Bijeljina, and other regions. [end recording]

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Tudjman Claims Ignorance About Bihac Offensive

AU1002163695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 95

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] What would the Republic of Croatia do to stop the aggression on Bihac—currently under fierce fire from the UN Protected Areas [UNPA]—from its occupied territory? Did Croatia think that it, too, is threatened by the events in Bihac? Could this threaten its long-term sovereignty?

Dr. Tudjman answered our question by saying that he had no information, that he was not aware that a fierce offensive is under way, and that he did not see why the Bihac events should cause Croatia to worry about its sovereignty, regardless of what turn they might take. Dr. Tudjman nevertheless said that he did not believe that the aggressor could defeat the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps, since—he said—the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has been significantly strengthened. Praise for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army from Croatia?

Once the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] withdraws, Croatia would—if necessary—undertake measures to stop the aggression against Bosnia from its territory. However, Dr. Tudjman did not specify what this meant or what measures would be taken. He did, however, stress that Croatia's decision on ending the UNPROFOR mandate was final. [passage omitted]

Granic: UNPROFOR Decision 'Final'

LD1002135295 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic and his Czech counterpart, Josef Zieleniec, had talks in Prague today.

[Correspondent] Zita Senkova attended the news conference given by the two ministers:

[Senkova] The Croatian Government's decision to expel UNPROFOR units from Croatia's territory by 31 March is final and irreversible, Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said after the talks with Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec.

At the same time he ruled out the possibility that the withdrawal of UNPROFOR forces could lead to a war between Croatia and Serbia. According to Josef Zieleniec, the Croatian Government's decision to get rid of the blue helmets was not passed at an appropriate time. It would be better if Franjo Tudjman's cabinet revised its decision and extended the mandate.

The two ministers—Zieleniec and Granic—also discussed bilateral cooperation and treaties between the two countries.

Minister Zieleniec expressed satisfaction with the fact that the Adria [oil] pipeline is back on stream and said he hopes it will continue to function.

Commentary on Possible Izetbegovic-Karadzic Talks

AU1002205995 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 95 p 9

[Commentary by Nenad Ivankovic: "Is Izetbegovic Going to Pale?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic has pointed out recently that there was a danger of a possible "separate agreement" between Zagreb and Belgrade. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG noted that on Thursday too, wondering whether the French idea of a meeting of the three presidents (Milosevic, Tudjman, and Izetbegovic) did not conceal the possibility of the Serbs dividing Zagreb and Sarajevo.

At any rate, as the Western media reported on Thursday, Izetbegovic has taken a surprising step. In an interview for Sarajevo Television, he stated that he was prepared to negotiate directly with Karadzic! "I believe that the time has come to save the people and the country," said Izetbegovic, adding that the Bosnian Army could indeed defeat the Serbs "within the next two or three years," but that the question was whether such a war would be worth the sacrifices the civilian population would have to make.

Izetbegovic pointed out that the aim of these direct negotiations with the leaders from Pale was "much more important," and that "there are things in life that simply have to be done."

We should remind the readers that Izetbegovic was, until recently, protesting fiercely against the U.S. violation of the political blockade on the Bosnian Serbs (Thomas' visit to Pale). It is also unusual that Izetbegovic should now—more than unexpectedly—express a readiness to negotiate directly with Karadzic, although the latter has done nothing to show he deserved such treatment.

Moreover, this is in direct opposition to the renewed efforts of the Contact Group and the European Union to isolate Karadzic and put him under more pressure in order to make him accept the peace plan for Bosnia. However, there has been no such signal from Pale, and the Americans have been saying openly that there is no sense in negotiating with Karadzic, since any negotiations with him are doomed to failure.

It is, therefore, right to ask whether the Izetbegovic's sudden readiness to negotiate with Karadzic is the response of his government to the fear of a separate agreement between Zagreb and Belgrade. Furthermore, what consequences can such an agreement have on the relations within the Bosnian Federation and the relations with Zagreb?

Finally, it seems hardly a coincidence that all this is happening at the time when Knin is breaking all contacts with Zagreb and announcing the suspension of the economic agreement and general mobilization. If Knin is really preparing for a war with Zagreb, and, at the same

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time, without any political background, Sarajevo is practically announcing a "normalization" with Pale, then it seems that there are grounds for the warning coming from FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG.

We should remind the readers of another fact: "FRY" Foreign Minister Jovanovic has recently completely ruled out the possibility of Belgrade (ever) diplomatically recognizing Bosnia-Herzegovina within its internationally recognized borders. At the same time, he did not rule out the possibility of diplomatic recognition of Croatia, but only said that this would not happen as soon as Zagreb had been announcing it would.

If, with his latest statement and the readiness to negotiate directly with Karadzic, Izetbegovic wanted to respond to the Belgrade "asymmetry," then it is difficult not to see a certain similarity with the letters that the presidencies of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] sent in the summer of 1991 to then-UN Secretary General De Cuellar, asking him to employ all means to make the diplomatic recognition of Croatia impossible, since it was simply not in the interest of Sarajevo and Skopje and the political and other aspects of stability in their republics.

UN Says Croat Troops Fire on UN Helicopter

AU1002164495 Paris AFP in English 1553 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Feb 10 (AFP)—Croatian troops fired on a UN helicopter as it flew over no-man's-land separating Croatian and secessionist Serb-held lines, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said here Friday.

The spokesman for the UN press office said the incident occurred at Podgrade, eastern Croatia, Thursday afternoon. No one was hurt in the shooting and said the aircraft was not damaged.

UN radio meanwhile reported that Croatian police were still holding UN lorries carrying fuel supplies near Lipovac, five kilometres (three miles) south of Podgrade, where the vehicles have been held up since last Saturday.

Croatian police impounded the vehicles and their keys, claiming that the drivers did not have the required documents to travel through the region.

UNPROFOR officials handed over the documents to the police last Monday, the UN radio said, but the lorries still remained impounded Friday afternoon.

Turkish Assembly Delegation Continues Meetings

TA1102125795 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 10 Feb 95

[Announcer-read report]

[FBIS Translated Text] Members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly's Bosnia-Herzegovina Investigation Committee, set up to contribute to Turkey's national policy on Bosnia, are continuing their meetings in Zagreb.

The committee members, led by Sait Kemal Mimaroglu, were received by Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic today. At the meeting Mimaroglu said that Turkey supports the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Noting that a federation to be later followed by a confederation is the soundest solution for the region, Mimaroglu added: Turkey will play an active role in the issue.

Burhan Ozdemir from the TRT Center in Zagreb reports that Mimaroglu noted that international organizations have been extremely unsuccessful on the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina, adding that efforts will be exerted to fight the double standards of these organizations.

Valentic said that Turkey and Croatia share the same views regarding the tragedy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The committee members will leave for Sarajevo tomorrow.

Krajina PM Cites Need for UNPROFOR Role

AU1202165095 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Feb 95

[Statement by Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the Serbian republic of Krajina, to Belgrade Radio; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We have not done anything that would increase tensions right now and bring us into a situation where we would wage a war immediately tomorrow. If we care about peace, and I believe that we should care about peace, then the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] is the one that should mediate, primarily because in the buffer zone, within which heavy arms have been withdrawn to a distance of one kilometer on each side, beside our police force and their police UNPROFOR is also present. If UNPROFOR withdraws, we know what can happen here, namely, heavy arms can be brought back to the lines of separation. The highway is controlled by UNPROFOR; if UNPROFOR withdraws what next? If one is to open the railway, again, this cannot be achieved without UNPROFOR. This is an even more difficult endeavor than the case of the highway. If one is to embark on the talks about refugees, again, one must have international community mediators for resolution, even if one opts for pilot programs, and so forth.

Therefore, all the above stated shows that the decision was taken unilaterally although it was truly upheld by the Croatian assembly. There have been some reactions from Europe and the world. We still do not know whether these were really their true reactions, whether this was a part of the political-diplomatic strategy, or a decision of their allies. I believe that if there is an interest to continue the economic talks, the allies, Croatia, the United Nations, and the UN Security Council have an opportunity to act. As soon as they pass a decision to extend UNPROFOR's mandate on the territory of the Serbian Krajina and keep Krajina a protected area, we

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will continue talks and, as far as we are concerned, there will be no war. Actually, we will not attack anyone anyway, we are not the ones who seek aggression. However, if somebody is to attack us, well, this is another story. In other words, there are many reasons in favor of negotiations, that is, negotiations under equal conditions. Afterward, the international community should present to the United Nations and the UN Security Council the results that have been achieved in the talks.

Krajina Government on 1994 Economic Figures

LD1002230795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2104 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—The government of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] today assessed that at its special session on Wednesday [8 February] the RSK Assembly lent support to the government's stance on the [suspension of the] negotiations with Croatia.

The government adds in its statement that its proposals were adopted unanimously and that the assembly showed complete unity and support for the government.

The statement notes that the government reviewed "other issues" and "individual claims that the executive authorities have responded in a weak and inadequate way to the rising crime rate in society."

As a response to that criticism, the government published the data on domestic product that last year rose by 20.9 percent compared to 1993. Industrial and agricultural production have also increased, retail prices have fallen, while salaries and pensions, which are being paid without delays, have seen an increase.

The statement goes on to add that sufficient money was provided for budget beneficiaries because 85 percent of income was collected owing to the effective work of relevant state bodies, the finance police, market inspection teams, and customs that "stopped many negative trends in 1993."

The statement adds that this made possible the payments for budget beneficiaries: The police, army, education, and others, while the country's foreign currency reserves have grown. The results would have been much better were it not for the suspension of economic relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb republic, the statement notes.

The statement goes on to say that general mobilization "has drastically upset all positive trends and almost paralyzed economic activities and the largest part of society," and because of its comprehensive nature has had a negative impact on wages of Krajina army members whose number suddenly increased.

"The number of contract soldiers [vojnici po ugovoru] has enormously increased" without the knowledge, influence, and control of the relevant ministry and government, while the budgetary funds remained the same, "or have even decreased due to a drastic fall in production," the statement says.

The statement says that members of the Serb Krajina Army reserve force received wages of between 25 and 60 dinars, while soldiers and commissioned officers received minimum wages of 180 dinars, some of them between 300 and 400 dinars; the statement stresses that redistribution of funds took place within the army "to the detriment of those who are deployed along first defense lines, over which the government had no influence."

The government pointed to the efforts being made to secure the smooth functioning of state administration, in necessary cooperation with state bodies of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb republic "which calls for frequent business trips by some government ministers and their absence from the government seat in Knin."

The government is aware of weaknesses in some departments and as a whole, but it warns that "nobody can be exempt from responsibility, nor can some people only act as critics irrespective of their position," the statement says, adding that the government will propose to the assembly to include on the agenda of one of its upcoming sessions, "the analysis of work and results achieved by every state official."

In the statement's conclusion, the government says that the RSK has been strengthened from within economically and in all other aspects, and despite a series of problems and international encirclement, it has become more prepared for defense than it had been in the previous three years.

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Frckovski Reveals 'Greek Offer of Secret Talks'

AU1002175295 Paris AFP in English 1709 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Feb 10 (AFP)—Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] refused a Greek offer of secret talks to resolve differences prior to a European Court of Justice hearing on Athens' embargo against Skopje, Macedonian Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski said Friday.

"After a two or three month total freeze in our contacts, Greek envoys came to Skopje to propose this meeting for tactical ends, under cover of police business," Frckovski told AFP.

He added that he judged the offer for talks in Athens, which was made last month, inappropriate at the present time.

But Greece Friday strenuously denied proposing any such meeting. Government spokesman Evangelos Venizelos said in Athens that "the declarations of Mr Frckovski are purely the product of his imagination."

Venizelos said Greece had "never had any such intention" and "no reason" to make any such proposals to Macedonia.

Frckovski said the Greek offer had also covered a list of "technical" issues, such as the question of visas and the problems of firms hit by the economic embargo Greece imposed on its neighbour and former Yugoslav republic on February 16 last year.

Frckovski said he judged it was possible to discuss those issues "on a professional level," but not the additional Greek opposition to Macedonia's name and its national flag.

Athens believes Skopje has territorial claims on the northern Greek province of Macedonia and has demanded changes to the Macedonian flag which bears ancient Greek symbols.

"The Greeks make us this kind of offer before every European meeting on the Macedonia affair," Frckovski said.

"They use it to abort any discussion on this subject and then they disappear.... We do not want these kinds of contacts because we have nothing to say on this level at this particular time."

Official talks on the issue have only so far taken place under the aegis of UN mediator Cyrus Vance, and Athens has always denied all talk of secret contacts with Skopje.

Greece appeared before the European Court of Justice on February 1 over its imposition of an embargo against Macedonia after its EU partners slammed the move, but a verdict is not expected for several months.

Frckovski said there had been "pressure by Greek industrialists" directed at Athens to lift the embargo "as they are afraid of being left behind when international sanctions against Serbia (imposed over the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia) end."

Macedonia occupies a key geographic position with regard to regional trade between Serbia to the north and the important Greek port of Salonika.

Frckovski meanwhile tacitly agreed the embargo against Serbia was not watertight from the Macedonian side, as found by European observers stationed there since October 1992.

"There is contraband, but the re-exporting of goods is practically a legal activity which has developed in all countries of the region, including Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia or indeed Serbia," he said.

The embargo against Belgrade was eased last autumn after Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic cut off supplies to Serb secessionists in Bosnia.

Identity Card Law Passed; Aliti Resigns

AU1302092595 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 10 Feb 95 p 5

[Article by "V.V.": "The Law on Identity Cards Passed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Law on Identity Cards, according to which the names of members of ethnic groups will be recorded in the language of the ethnic group besides in Macedonian, was passed yesterday in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. This law was supported by 73 members of parliament, with one vote against, and one abstention. The members of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], the NDP [People's Democratic Party], and the "Tacists" [PDP radical wing] did not take part in the discussion or vote because of, as they said, "majorization" and "violation of the rule book." This law took three years to pass through parliamentary procedures, the reason being that it was impossible to reach agreement on the use of the languages of the ethnic groups in this document.

Of the 13 proposed amendments, the government accepted three. Of these, a more substantial one was proposed by Ferit Musovski of the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia], and it excludes the coat of arms on the identity card so long as it is not adopted. The other amendments, which proposed the use of the language of the ethnic group only, or vice versa, the exclusive use of the Macedonian language in the identity card, were accepted neither by the government nor the Assembly.

Minister of the Interior Ljubomir Frckovski emphasized that the final legal solution had struck an extremely good balance because it retains the framework of the Constitution and also takes account of the identity of the citizen. "The identity card is a monolingual document in the official Macedonian language, but it also expresses the identity of the person with a transcription of his name in both Macedonian and the language of the ethnic group to which he belongs," Frckovski said.

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The members of the SDSM supported the law in the debate and emphasized that "it is not a bilingual matter, but a transcription" (Tito Petkovski) and that the "identity card cannot be seen as discrimination regarding the Albanians" (Veljo Tanturov). One LP [Liberal Party] speaker opposed his party's support for this government decision, explaining that a "document that is valid for the territory of the whole state cannot be bilingual" (Slobodan Danevski). A DPM [Democratic Party of Macedonia] speaker, Tomislav Stojanovski, remarked that "all the neighbors have monolingual identity cards," while Kiro Popovski of the SP [Socialist Party] expressed a dilemma whether to support the proposal "if it is considered to be a political solution for full bilingual use."

After this law was passed, the Assembly passed the laws on birth identity and personal name practically without any discussion, as well as the changes in the laws on road safety, where there has been a decrease in criminal punishments. They also accepted the proposal on a law on public rallies with the remark that the remarks of the parliament commissions should be taken into consideration in the preparation of the draft law. The parliament did not accept the proposal for an amendment to the Law on Education that was put forward by Djeladin Murati.

The continuation of the session on the laws on internal affairs, intelligence agencies, and a couple of decisions on elections and nominations will be additionally scheduled. In ending yesterday's session, Assembly Chairman Stojan Andov said that they should accept the PDP's request to take part in the other points of the session's agenda.

[Box, p 5]

Aliti's Resignation

Abdurahman Aliti (PDP), one of the three deputy chairmen of the Macedonian Assembly, submitted his resignation in writing yesterday.

Aliti gave as the reason for his irrevocable resignation his disagreement with the solutions that the government offered "on important questions concerning the status of the Albanians in Macedonia," as well as with the "way the Assembly works, where the only way to express one's position is in the voting, without there being any responsibility for the situation, for dialogue, and discussion about these issues." In his resignation Aliti stated that it is "a personal act of responsibility and a warning about the extremely tense situation in the republic."

Ethnic Albanian PDP Leader Calls For Dialogue

AU1302111295 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Feb 95 p 4

[Interview with Abdurahman Aliti, president of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, by Panta Dzambazoski; place and date not given: "We Should Talk!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Abdurahman Aliti is the president of the largest party of Albanians, that is, the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP]. As such he is an important political factor in the domestic political life of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and for international political figures in their discussions about Macedonia. The PDP was one of the first political parties registered in the country; it gained 22 members of parliament in the first multiparty elections in 1990 and was very active during parliamentary sessions. In 1922, after the formation of the first government, the government of Prime Minister Crvenkovski, the party participated in executive power with five ministers. Last year, after the second elections, after getting 10 members of parliament, and after lengthy consideration, the PDP decided to resume participation in the government. This time it did so with four ministers. That is why Abdurahman Aliti was asked first to give his opinion about the elections and the party's results.

[Aliti] The election results were not very good for the PDP. We have less than half the number of members of parliament. However, taking into consideration the general situation in the political life of the Albanians in Macedonia, particularly after the crisis in the PDP and the unfavorable rating for us and the party, the 10 members of parliament are not a defeat. We can also talk about the party's image and the desired political line, but it is a fact that the Albanians have chosen to accomplish their objectives in an institutional and democratic way.

[Dzambazoski] How does the PDP function in parliament when there are no longer any big opposition parties in the Macedonian Assembly?

[Aliti] In my opinion, this is a very unfortunate situation. The VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization- Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] and the DP [Democratic Party] boycotted the elections. That was their own decision. They would, however, have made parliament more colorful and would have helped to make the content of its work different. It is a fact that the government was formed the way it was formed and that it will be able to pass legal provisions the way it itself conceived them. Although differing views on some political and economic issues will be put to the government, matters will arrive in parliament as agreed and there will be no disputes. The specific issues that are being raised in international relations, regarding the position of the ethnic groups in Macedonia, will remain as they are, and there will be practically no demands. The most the Albanian ministers can do is either dissociate or distance themselves from the government's positions, and that amounts to zero. Theoretically, we could say that this is an unnatural and inconsistent position of the PDP, but this manner has been forced on the government and parliament, because we are following a concept of political struggle through the institutions of the system which, in fact, is not yielding any results. We have a situation in which

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there is political silence because the other side does not even try to respond to arguments.

Parliament of Leisure

[Dzambazoski] Does this mean that the PDP misses a strong parliamentary opposition party, even one like the VMRO-DPMNE, even if it is Albanophobic?

[Aliti] Yes, why not? Even such a way of presenting arguments produces quality. In such a situation, the one who prepares the project and the one who adopts it, are mobilized not to make errors or at least not to make great errors. In the situation we have now, there is an atmosphere of leisure. That is why the absence of opposition parties is a handicap for parliament as well as for the political ambience.

[Dzambazoski] A part of the Macedonian public believed that now that the opposition is outside parliament, the authorities would meet the Albanians' demands.

[Aliti] I was not among those who thought that—that we would be able to solve some issues if the VMRO-DPMNE was not there. Although there is a view regarding the Albanian question in Macedonia that there are left and right parties, they are practically the same. Even the ordinary observer can see this. In the previous parliament we had paradoxical situations, such as for instance, voting for the opposition's proposals or when we were voting for their proposals. What I am worried about is the lack of feeling among the leaders in authority—the executive, the legislature, and the courts, as well as the leaders of the parties, who are obviously reluctant to respond to the issues raised by the Albanian parties. There is a lack of feeling to solve some questions. The argument that too much has been given to the Albanians or that there have been too many concessions does not lead anywhere. Such formulations do not create possibilities for dialogue or for constructing bridges. Even if there are such bridges, the two sides are sitting on their side of the river bank.

[Dzambazoski] You are referring to the question of the Albanian university, the "paramilitary" army, the deportation of Kosovo deputies, and the bilingual identity card?

[Aliti] Correct. It is beyond comprehension when professors, academicians, and men of letters say that they feel threatened because an Albanian-language university will be opened. I would really like to hear the scientific arguments and not the political, let me not say charlatan arguments used in incendiary politics. Or, the argument that if the Albanians are educated in their mother tongue, Macedonia will be federalized. Of course, there cannot be good relations if only one side shows good will, but the Albanians have shown such good will many times.

[Dzambazoski] For instance?

[Aliti] As a political party we found ourselves under great pressure not to participate in this government. We were surrounded on all sides. Our presidency session lasted seven days, and this was the only topic, but we said that, being a political party, we must show that the solution to the questions must be found here, in a way determined by the law and the Constitution—although we gave Gligorov and the two Crvenkovskis arguments for saying at the international level that the Republic of Macedonia is really a civil and democratic state in which the Albanians have four ministers. This is true, and I knew it in advance, but if we have applied some political capital to the construction of bridges, then where is the will of the other side?

The Constitution and the "University"

[Dzambazoski] You have said that you have sought solutions in a way provided for by the Constitution and the law. Nevertheless, the government regarded the initiative to open an Albanian university as unconstitutional.

[Aliti] Exactly. But that is the assessment of this government. If we speak with the force of argument, this does not involve anything that is unconstitutional. Every lawyer and law student knows this, that is, everybody except Professor Skaric. It represents a thing that has not been regulated by law. This argument is true and I accept only this. Who is the one that will regulate it? The government. Therefore, we should talk. First of all about the need, but I think that nobody dares to claim that there is no need. The argument that the universities in Skopje and Bitola are opened to Albanians is also true. I have never read anything that says "Albanians are not allowed." However, let us talk about the opening. Why don't we talk about the quality of education in the Albanian language in the elementary and high schools? This is also a good argument.

[Dzambazoski] Why did the PDP allow a group led by Fadil Sulejmani to politicize the question of the "opening of the university" to such an extent as to create conditions for interethnic tensions, and why did you allow this group to deflect you from your course of the institutions of the system?

[Aliti] I must admit that this is a good question, but let us look the truth in the eye. Some PDP people tried in the former parliament and government to reactivate Albanian-language groups in the Academy of Pedagogy—there was a strong argument for it because the number of teachers has naturally declined and we shall find ourselves in a situation when there will be no teachers left. However, there was no readiness for a faculty to educate teachers to teach in the Albanian-language elementary and high schools. Here one is involved with institutions of the system, with talks in the Ministry of Education, and with talks with the government, prime minister, and head of state. I myself participated twice in these talks. The president said that the faculty would start in 1994 or

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1995. A protocol was prepared with mediator Ahrens [Geert Ahrens, deputy co-chairman of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia] according to which the Academy of Pedagogy was to be opened in 1992-93, and it was decided that a faculty would be gradually opened. These are facts. Nevertheless, some intrigues started, there was a petition by some teachers, and the whole issue acquired other dimensions. The initiative for the opening of Tetovo university was said to be suspicious and an overture to "Ilirida" [the name for projected Albanian territory in Macedonia], and so on.

The Thesis of Homogenization

[Dzambazoski] Are these your comments on Minister Frckovski's statements?

[Aliti] Yes, they are. Why did this thesis appear? That is, the thesis that an all-Albanian movement is being created, a homogenization, and unification of the parties of the Albanians. And what happened? The parties of the Albanians continued to differ and they will differ in future, too. That is natural.

[Dzambazoski] We must admit that one wing of the PDP was engaged in giving all possible support to the initiators of the university, and the PDP joined this game although it could not be reconciled?

[Aliti] I do not know and I cannot make any comment. It is nothing but acceptance of an idea. However, as long as teachers and policemen talk about such issues, we will get nowhere.

[Dzambazoski] Do you think that this question should be solved gradually, through the institutions of the system as soon as a suitable atmosphere and level of dialogue is reached?

[Aliti] Atmosphere? Atmosphere is created as a result of policy.

[Dzambazoski] Is that your answer?

[Aliti] Yes. If the university is opened, it will be the third university in the Republic of Macedonia, with Macedonian laws, with a Macedonian educational system, and curricula.

[Dzambazoski] Does it mean that you still believe that this question should be solved through the institutions of the system?

[Aliti] I think that it will be useless if this issue is forced, if the people involved in this action do not define a timeframe for the actions, and if they do not insist on basic and serious preparations. It is bad if pressure is dictated with the sole purpose of starting the university and thus not losing another academic year, which has actually already been lost. All in all, I am not in favor of improvisation, but I favor serious and basic actions free from euphoria, emotion, and politicization. Gradual activities can lead to results. I support the idea, but attention is necessary. I am sure that my answer as stated for NOVA MAKEDONIJA will not produce any benefit for me, but I hope that there are some people who will support me. We must pay special attention to the appointment of the university staff. I do not exclude the possibility that there will be Macedonian professors. This should not be a problem. I have had teachers from Serbia and from Croatia and I never minded it. Knowledge is the thing that always counts.

[Dzambazoski] You believe, therefore, that the current authorities will permit this question to be solved, and then perhaps you also believe that the Albanian's other demands will also be met?

[Aliti] No. I do not expect this parliament to pass a law to provide the financial framework for the creation of such a university in the Republic of Macedonia. However, it is possible, and I expect the government to define the possibilities for the establishment of private universities, on which basis it will be possible to find ways of financing, including the participation of some international foundations.

[Dzambazoski] The PDP has started having frequent contacts with parties from Kosovo and Albania. The delegation of the Democratic Alliance of Albania that recently visited Tetovo supported your independent [autochtone] political position.

[Aliti] They flattered us in their assessment of our activities, and everywhere in Kosovo and Albania we are respected as a very important political factor. The liberal parties of Kosovo and Albania asked us to arrange contacts for them with the Liberal Party of Stojan Andov. We shall try to provide them with such contacts. Intensification of cooperation among the parties is the most important matter.

[Dzambazoski] Have you been supported in your independent [autochtone] position by the ruling Democratic Party of Albania?

[Aliti] No, we have not.

Ethnic Serbs Might Demand Own University

AU1002154095 Skopje MIC in English 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] If the Albanians are allowed to have a university in their language in Tetovo, the Serbs in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] would also ask for a high education institution in their own language. This was said at yesterday's press conference of the Democratic Party of the Serbs in Macedonia.

The president of this party, Dragisa Miletic, stressed among other things that the Serbs in Macedonia are asking for pre-school, elementary, and secondary education, but "when some are granted the right to open a university in their own language, then why shouldn't the others also use this right, for example the Serbs, Vlachs, Turks, Romanies...." "For now, we will not ask for a university, but in case the Albanians get what they want,

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we will also claim that right." Because, as Miletic said, the Serbs do not want to be second rate citizens, but equal with everyone else in the Republic of Macedonia.

Prilep Demonstrators Hold 'Protest of the Hungry'

LD1002200795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Several thousand disgruntled tobacco farmers, members of independent trade unions, workers in firms facing bankruptcy, and unemployed persons today demonstrated in Prilep demanding "an urgent solution to the problem of the army of hungry Macedonian citizens."

It was said at the meeting—held under the title "The Protest of the Hungry"—Skopje state radio reported, that several similar meetings which will follow will culminate in a demonstration of warning to be held in late March outside the parliament building in Skopje.

The demonstrators in Prilep sent 10 demands to Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, the parliament, the government, and the trade unions. The demands insist on the urgent revision of the social policy in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], the abolition of the laws on privatization and on the regular payment of pensions. The demands also warn that "Macedonia does not need humanitarian aid, but measures to revive the economy."

The demonstrators called on the authorities in Skopje to expel profiteers from all firms, and to eradicate illegal acquisition of riches and bribes, and corruption.

"The people of Macedonia must have their ideals restored, otherwise the state will have no future." This was the message from the participants in "The Protest of the Hungry" in Prilep.

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Slovenia 'Willing' To Help UNPROFOR Leave

LD1002211495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1958 GMT 10 Feb 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Feb. 10 (TANJUG)—U.N. special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said Friday that Slovenia was willing to help U.N. peacekeepers if they had to pull out of Croatia. Akashi was speaking after a meeting with Slovenian Defense Ministry officials in Ljubljana.

He said the Slovenian top military officials had showed understanding for the problems that U.N. troops might have if Croatia refused to renew their mandate after its expiry on March 31.

Akashi said Slovenia was willing to allow U.N. troops' evacuation via its northern Adriatic port of Koper to Trieste, Italy.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman informed U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on Jan. 12 that Croatia would not be renewing the mandate of the U.N. Protection Force.

About 15,000 U.N. peacekeepers have since spring 1992 been deployed in areas in the former Yugoslavia that largely coincide with the territory of Serb Krajina.

Serbs in Croatia formed the republic of Serb Krajina in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslav federation and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution.

Since the deployment of U.N. troops, Croatia has launched four military offensives against Serb Krajina.

Drnovsek Departs for Strasbourg, To Visit PRC

AU0902162795 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Feb 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek will arrive in Strasbourg this evening, where he will take part in tomorrow's international conference entitled Equality and Democracy—Utopia or Challenge as a cochairman. The conference was organized by the Council of Europe. During his stay in Strasbourg, Prime Minister Drnovsek will, as it is envisaged, meet with Council of Europe President Miguel Angel Martinez and the secretary general of this organization, Daniel Tarschys.

On 11 February, the Slovene prime minister will travel to China via Frankfurt. This will be the first Slovene visit at such a high level to this country. In Beijing, Dr. Drnovsek will hold talks with President Zemin, Premier Li Peng, and Speaker of the Parliament Haotian Chi. The government circles in Ljubljana single out the prime minister's meeting with Wu Yi, Chinese minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation, as being particularly important.

The prime minister will be accompanied by a sizable group of economists and businessmen on his visit to China.

France To Expedite Slovenia's Accession to EU

95BA0127B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 Jan 95 p 24

[Article by Bozo Masanovic: "France Will Help Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *French Minister of European Affairs Alain Lamassoure assured Ignac Golob that France would do everything possible to have Slovenia conclude an agreement with the EU [European Union].*

From our correspondent.

Paris, 13 Jan—During its six-month presidency of the EU, France will do everything possible to help Slovenia conclude a European (association) agreement with the Brussels group, French Minister of European Affairs Alain Lamassoure assured Ignac Golob, state secretary in the Slovene Foreign Ministry, today.

During talks at the Quai d'Orsay, Ignac Golob explained in detail the economic, social, and political circumstances that rank Slovenia among the countries that can apply to join the EU, and the integration strategy of the government in Ljubljana. Slovenia needs markets, and consequently will conclude free trade agreements with both the Central European Free Trade Association and the European Free Trade Association, which according to the state secretary by no means indicates that it is not interested in closer relations with the EU. Quite the contrary—the Brussels group is at the top of Slovenia's strategic priorities, and consequently it was hard for Ljubljana to accept the fact that in 1994, when the EU was expanded to include three new members, the negotiating process for concluding a European agreement had not yet started.

In this regard, Ignac Golob informed his French interlocutor that Slovenia is seeking new ways to settle the dispute with Italy, but has to wait for a new government to be put together, because now it does not have a counterpart for the talks, and above all he emphasized the principled position, which Paris also supports, that bilateral disputes should be separated from multinational negotiation.

Golob and Lamassoure also mentioned the former Yugoslavia's debts, and the French minister assessed Slovenia's position on solving that problem as legally justified and asserted that Paris supported it.

Ignac Golob also informed Alain Lamassoure, whom he was already meeting for the second time in a few months, that the Slovene Government had settled its obligations for the additional capitalization of Revoz, and thus eliminated the previous complications; at the same time, that step also demonstrated its interest in a greater presence for French firms in the Slovene market.

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At the Quai d'Orsay, where preparations are being completed for the first session of the EU Council of Ministers under France's presidency, a special brochure explaining in detail Paris's strategy for the six months was issued just today. The chapter on cooperation with Central and East European countries says, among other things, that during that period France will strive for the conclusion of association agreements with the states in that region that have not yet participated in such agreements, i.e., the three Baltic countries and Slovenia. Furthermore, that document includes Slovenia among the group of 12 countries (also including Cyprus and Malta), which, according to the European Council agreement in Copenhagen (in June 1993), will be the next ones to start negotiating on membership in the EU.

Important Decision 'Soon' on Ties to FRY

LD1002195395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753 GMT 10 Feb 95

[By Igor Saranovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Feb. 10 (TANJUG)—Slovenian Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler has said Slovenia will 'soon make the first more important decision for establishing relations with Yugoslavia.'

Speaking in a TV Ljubljana special broadcast late on Thursday, Thaler, who was recently appointed foreign minister, failed to reveal which Slovenian Government moves would contribute to the normalization of relations with Yugoslavia.

He said, however, that these were 'complicated and complex issues.'

Political and economic relations were discontinued after Slovenia seceded from the former Yugoslavia in a 10-day war in June-July 1991.

Thaler spoke about indications by Ljubljana top political officials that Slovenia would start the rapprochement process after the international community had shown the first visible signs of intending to lift the May 1992 comprehensive sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Roman Catholic Archbishop France Perko of Belgrade has recently spoken to Thaler about the need to normalize the Slovenian-Yugoslav relations and said that in 1991, there were 7,000 Slovenians in Belgrade alone.

Archbishop Perko, a Slovenian, also said that a large number of Slovenian refugees who had fled Bosnia-Herzegovina, had found shelter in Yugoslavia.

Archbishop Perko said that the opening of a Slovenian bureau in Belgrade and a Yugoslav bureau in Ljubljana would contribute to preparations for a future economic cooperation between the two countries.

Analysts in Ljubljana say that a growing number of indications that political and economic cooperation might be normalized, which Slovenia sends to Yugoslavia, result from the fear that Slovenia might be pushed into complete isolation.

The analysts say that the cause for such indications are serious disputes between Slovenian authorities and neighboring Italy and Croatia regarding borders, minorities, property-rights relations, and other outstanding issues which also threaten that Slovenia might be isolated.

Thaler told TV Ljubljana it was possible that the first decision on the rapprochement of Ljubljana and Belgrade would soon be made by the Slovenian parliament's international relations committee.

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Federal

Jovanovic Criticizes Calls To Recognize Croatia

AU1102202495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In its efforts to spur the peace process, France, as TANJUG reports quoting its correspondent from Paris, is ready to propose a complete lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia, however, on condition that Belgrade recognizes Zagreb. This, precisely, was an additional reason to remind once again in this program of our country's stance regarding the world's demands for the recognition of the seceded republics:

Commenting on the pressures on the FRY to recognize the seceded republics of the former Yugoslavia at all costs, FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said for Radio Belgrade that this is just another unprincipled pressure, if a pressure can be principled at all.

The pressure in question is unprincipled because it clashes with the conclusion of the Hague international conference and international legislation which acknowledges each country a sovereign right either to recognize another country or not. The pressure is also contrary to the UN Security Council resolution that introduced sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Any attempt to link the lifting of sanctions with any other issue or demand would mean nonacknowledgement of this resolution and violation of its contents, Jovanovic reminded. In any case, the recognition sought is not a one-way process because it involves a previous resolution of the problems that have emerged as a result of the one-sided secession and a correction in the stance of the international community regarding the FRY's continuity, Jovanovic said.

Jovanovic-Papoulias Talks: Identical Views

LD1002172895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1541 GMT 10 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Thessaloniki, 10 Feb (TANJUG)—Profound friendship, identical views on all important issues in the Balkans and the territory of former Yugoslavia, and Greece and Yugoslavia's resolve to join forces in making a contribution to the peaceful resolution of crises—this could be a brief description of a meeting between Vladislav Jovanovic and Karolos Papoulias, foreign ministers of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Greece respectively, which took place in Thessaloniki today, in the course of the Yugoslav foreign minister's one day working visit to Greece.

The unanimous stance was voiced in the talks that the sanctions imposed by the international community against the FRY represented a direct obstacle to the restoration of peace and stability in the region.

At a news conference that was held after official talks the two ministers presented a joint conclusion that the sanctions against our country have to be abolished as soon as possible, as they only encourage war options and threaten what has been achieved by the peace efforts so far, it was said.

Papoulias said that Greece has always been against the sanctions and that it had taken steps to get them lifted. Saying that Greece is one of the countries that felt the full negative effect of such a measure imposed by the international community, the Greek foreign minister announced that Athens will launch an initiative for lifting the sanctions against the FRY.

A group of Balkan countries that are worst affected by the sanctions will, together with Greece, formally raise the question before the UN Security Council of the justifiability of keeping the sanctions against the FRY in place, Papoulias announced.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic plays an extremely important role in the peace process in the region, Papoulias said, adding that President Milosevic has been contributing to the efforts to restore peace in the Balkans. Therefore, the international community must change its attitude toward the FRY, the Greek minister stressed.

The Greek foreign minister said that he had asked Minister Jovanovic to convey sincere and cordial greetings to President Slobodan Milosevic from Prime Minister Andreas Papandreau.

Stressing that in the course of the talks today the two sides presented views, opinions, and ideas that are identical, which has always been the case, Papoulias said that Greece and Yugoslavia have always fought for peace. These historical relations between our countries are a real basis for stability and peace, the Greek foreign minister stressed. He also told journalists that he had accepted Vladislav Jovanovic's invitation to pay a visit to Belgrade soon and continue talks on key issues of mutual interest for the two countries.

Jovanovic stressed that friendship between Greece and the FRY is the basic factor of peace and stability in the region. Their friendship and cooperation are not directed against anyone, but such cooperation and relations should serve as a model for turning the Balkans into an oasis of peace and stability, Jovanovic said.

During the discussion of the peace process in Bosnia, Jovanovic stressed that the two sides expressed unanimous and resolute support for the peace process that leads toward a real solution to the problem by respecting all sides. Yugoslavia's stance on the peace process is well known—it gives full support to the Contact Group and its plan as the starting point for the resumption of the political talks between the Serb and Muslim communities, Minister Jovanovic said. Yugoslavia advocates the policy of solving problems and respecting all sides, the policy in which all political pressures, blackmail, and threats will be avoided, the Yugoslav minister stressed.

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Asked by Greek journalists which countries will join Greece in the initiative to lift the sanctions against the FRY, Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias singled out Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Ukraine.

Yugoslav Minister Jovanovic was asked by journalists about the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] and the relations between Belgrade and Skopje. According to the Yugoslav foreign minister, there are no changes in relations between the FRY and the FYROM.

"It is in our interest that the problems between Athens and Skopje be solved as soon as possible, to the satisfaction of both sides," Jovanovic said. We are encouraging, as much as we can, a solution to the dispute, the Yugoslav minister stressed, and underlined the FRY's principled stance that the former Yugoslav republic could not be recognized before a solution is found for the unilateral act of their secession from Yugoslavia.

The dispute between the FYROM and Greece is one of the consequences of the secession, and it is in our interest that this consequence be overcome as soon as possible, Jovanovic stressed. That will open the path to the recognition of the former Yugoslav republics as independent states if, of course, they do not dispute the continuity of the FRY as a state, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said at the end of the news conference in Thessaloniki, following his meeting with Greek Minister Karolos Papoulias.

As part of the Yugoslav delegation's visit today, Dragan Tomic, a minister in the Serbian Government, held talks with leading businessmen from Thessaloniki and the region. They discussed the improvement of economic relations between Greece and Yugoslavia.

Jovanovic: Equal Status Precondition for Peace

AU1102162695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Feb 95

[Statement by FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic in Belgrade, "upon his return from Thessaloniki late last night"—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] It was also confirmed on this occasion [during Jovanovic's 10 February talks with Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias] that Greece and Yugoslavia are both firmly determined for a policy of peace and political resolution of all aspects of the Yugoslav crisis. They consistently pursue this policy of peace in their mutual relations because they build their relations on the principles of friendship and good neighborly relations and are open to develop the same relations with other countries that favor similar such principles.

With its hitherto policy toward the Yugoslav crisis, Greece has demonstrated that it is not merely an unswayable but also an objective factor which contributes greatly that the unbalanced policy of some other neighboring countries is felt less negatively in the resolution of the Yugoslav [words indistinct].

We have always supported all the initiatives that led or could have lead toward a political resolution of the crisis, restoration of peace, and return of stability in our region. In this sense we, in principle, express a positive attitude toward the latest initiatives that are being raised in individual places. However, we must say that the precondition for success of any such initiative is that all subjects, that is, all participants enjoy an absolutely equal status. Yugoslavia will not have this status as long as it is under sanctions. Those who truly wish for the success of a peace initiative must primarily strive to secure an equal position of Yugoslavia, meaning, to strive immediately and resolutely for the lifting of sanctions, because this is also a guarantee for success of such initiatives.

Seselj on Recognition Issue, Jovanovic Statement

AU1002163495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 95 p 2

[BETA-attributed report: "Simultaneously Recognizing RSK and Croatia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—With regard to the initiative that the states of the former Yugoslavia recognize one another, Vojislav Seselj, head of the Serbian Radical Party, stated yesterday that "recognition of Croatia and Bosnia is out of the question unless this at the same means the recognition of the independence of the Serbian republic [Serbian entity in Bosnia- Herzegovina] and the republic of Serbian Krajina."

Seselj said that he was in favor of Yugoslavia immediately recognizing the independence of the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republic of Croatia, as well as the independence of the Serbian Republic and the independence of the Muslim-Croat Federation.

Commenting on the recent statement by Vladislav Jovanovic ("We will not recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina"), Seselj said that what Jovanovic did not say is much more important than what he did: the current issue of the republic of Serbian Krajina. "Jovanovic has already found himself in the position to contradict his own words and views and, if he had had the courage, he would already have resigned. However, such decent people do not exit in the leadership of the Socialist Party of Serbia. Milosevic has turned all those around him into disposable cloths," Seselj said.

FRY President Recognizes Economic Achievements

95P20493A Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 95 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Achieved Objectives"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Concrete results prove that the proposed objectives were achieved in implementing the economic program in the course of 1994. Despite the existing difficulties, suitable conditions were created to facilitate further intensive economic recovery.

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On the occasion of the anniversary of implementation of the Program of Economic Recovery of the Country, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, yesterday received Professor Dragoslav Avramovic; Mirko Marjanovic, prime minister of Serbia; Nikola Sainovic, Federal deputy prime minister who was prime minister of Serbia at the start of the program; and Nikola Stanic, coordinator of the team of experts for creation of the Program. It was noted with satisfaction that the concrete results of implementation of the economic program prove that the proposed objectives and initial expectations were achieved. This is evident in the halt of hyperinflation, in thecreation of a stable market and prices, in the introduction of a new, stable currency, in the stable exchange rate, and in the increase of total economic activity, particularly in industrial production.

Positive results were marked in all areas of the economy: Salaries and pensions were increased; the number of workers on required leave was reduced. Particularly important is the consolidation of public financing and the balancing of state budget, i.e. financing from real resources. This has created conditions suitable for further intensive economic recovery. Banks and enterprises are expected to balance their own budgets during the course of this year, as the state itself has done.

The discussion also covered the most important current issues connected with implementation of the economic program. President Milosevic noted the need for supporting primary agricultural production, farming and cattle raising, and stressed the importance of meeting financial obligations toward the farmers. Different work groups are expected soon to present their proposals regarding 1.) salaries pensions and taxes, 2.) financial institutions, and 3.) investments. This will complete the Program of Economic Recovery of the Country. The Office of the President of Serbia reports that the president's adviser for economic issues, academician Kosta Mihajlovic, was also present at the reception.

FRY Leaders Support Military Industry

95P20501A Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 95 p 5

[Unattributed article: "To Preserve All Resources"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the Federal Ministry of Defense yesterday, a discussion took place on Yugoslavia's military industry. The highest ranking representatives of the ministry participated in the discussion, along with other state and federal officials and directors of weapons and equipment producing enterprises.

Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic pointed out that even under the conditions of an extremely restrictive budget, it is necessary to preserve the professional resources, as well as the development and production resources of the military industry, because this industry's function is essentially important for the country's security and economic development. This requirement was also supported by Oskar Fodor, Serbian minister of industry, who noted that the scientific and production potential of the military industry represents the technological core of our entire economy, which must be preserved even at the expense of other industrial branches. The directors of weapons and equipment producing factories were charged with the requirement to personally take the initiative in contributing to the preservation of military industry, starting with a partial conversion of its potential to production for the civilian market.

Five Killed in Explosion at Military Plant

AU1102154395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Feb 95

[Report by Pregrad Rahovic from Lucani]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An explosion occurred at 0825 [0725 GMT] this morning in one of the military production plants [pogon namenske proizvodnje] of the Milan Blagojevic chemical enterprise in Lucani in which five people lost their lives while one sustained grave injuries. [passage omitted]

The investigators of the Cacak Secretariat for Internal Affairs immediately arrived on the scene of the accident, followed by FRY Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, Serbian Industry Minister Oskar Fodor, Colonel General Blagoje Kovacevic, deputy commander of the Yugoslav Army General Staff, and Major General Radojica Kadijevic, head of the Military Production Directorate.

The experts of the incumbent military services and the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs started investigation immediately. They will examine the causes of the tragedy which is, as director of the plant Colonel Rados Milovanovic says, the biggest in its 43-year history.

Federal Minister Pavle Bulatovic expressed his most sincere condolences to the families of the deceased workers and wished a speedy recovery to the injured worker Snezana Ilic.

Head of Army Information Service Replaced

AU1002142595 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 95 p 16

[BETA-attributed report: "Colonel Lj. Stojadinovic, Head of Information Service, Has Been Replaced"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Colonel Ljubodrag Stojadinovic, head of the Information Service of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia, has been replaced. Major General Slavko Krivosija has been appointed new head.

In a statement for BETA, Stojadinovic said that he had been replaced as a result of a 2 February decision of the Supreme Defense Council, and that he had been informed about it the day before yesterday.

Stojanovic said that he was not informed about the reasons for his being replaced, but thought that he was

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suspected of having given information to the independent weekly VREME that Major General Bora Ivanovic, who was suspected of having committed a number of criminal acts, had been promoted to colonel general in an irregular procedure after criminal proceedings had been dropped against him.

"I did not give this information," Stojadinovic said.

Stojadinovic has not been reassigned. According to military regulations, he should be given a new post with six months.

Armenian Ministers Meet Federal, Serb Officials

LD1102125495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 11 Feb 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic and the Armenian ministers of defense and industry, Serzhik Sarkisyan and Ashot Safariyan, held talks today about economic and military-economic cooperation between the two countries, the Federal Defense Ministry's information service reported.

Over the past few days the Armenian delegation, comprising the country's leading businessmen and scientists, toured several organizations and scientific institutes in Serbia and Montenegro and discussed the possibilities of cooperation in which both countries are interested.

Today's talks in the Yugoslav army's central club in Belgrade were also attended by Serbia's Industry Minister Oskar Fodor, and by Lieutenant-Colonel-General Blagoje Kovacevic, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav army, the statement says.

Envoy Says UN May Approve Russian Gas Imports

LD1202182495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 12 Feb 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kragujevac, Feb. 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Dragomir Djokic has indicated the U.N. sanctions committee might approve exports of Russian gas to Yugoslavia for humanitarian needs.

In a telephone statement from New York for the local radio in Kragujevac, central Serbia, Djokic explained that the text of the decision would be formulated these days and that it might be adopted by the sanctions committee.

Djokic said he had received information to that effect from very reliable sources. He warned, however, that surprises were always possible, having in mind the developments so far, and said the news should be taken with reservations.

The U.N. Security Council imposed comprehensive sanctions on the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro in May 1992, accusing it of involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Russia has repeatedly renewed its request to the sanctions committee to export gas to Yugoslavia for humanitarian purposes. The request has been refused so far, mostly because of opposition from Islamic countries and the United States.

Serbia

Enterprises Face Power Cuts Because of Debts

AU1202215995 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 95 p 6

[Article by E.V.N.: "Scissors for Giants"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Since yesterday, the biggest debtors to the Serbian Power Industry have found themselves between "the electricity" scissors. Because of unsettled debts, the Serbian Power Industry has decided to cut deliveries of electricity to Zorka from Sabac, Trepca combine from Kosovska Mitrovica, and Feronikl from Glogovac. As we have learned unofficially, the same fate is also awaiting other big debtors: Kisanica and Novo Brdo mines, as well as Termokos, Vocar, Buducnost, Polet.... [passage omitted]

[Box, p 6]

Debtors

Except for the citizens, the debtors do not pay for oil derivatives to the Serbian Oil Industry. Because of the debt of 235 million dinars, which has not been settled, the Serbian Oil Industry concluded last year's nine-month operation with a loss of 316 million dinars. To avoid a similar situation happening this year, they demanded from the republican authorities to tighten the measures against debtors or allow an increase in prices (at least for some products). It is also demanded that the deliveries for priority users be reduced and quantities available for free sale increased, in order to make at least some profit.

Kosovo

Rugova Calls on Kosovars Not To Leave Province

AU1102181895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 10 Feb 95

[Telephone report by Skender Durmishi from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's news conference, the president of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, supported proposals for holding an international conference to resolve problems in the territory of former

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Yugoslavia, which will be attended by the representatives of Kosova as one of the units of the Yugoslav Federation.

Today, too, President Rugova warned of the continuation of the Serbian official and media campaign to colonize Kosova with Serbs and Montenegrins. He called on Kosovar citizens not to abandon Kosova, because in such a way they will help its colonization. Rugova demanded that the United Nations High Commissariat for Refugees' activities should not be manipulated by Serbia's colonialist aims. For the same reason, he demanded that Italian authorities should again close down the Tivar-Bari ferry-boat line.

Reporters were also informed of the continual of repression, particularly against political, education, and humanitarian activists.

Continuing his comments, President Rugova considered the demands of Albanian parliamentarians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] to abrogate those discriminating provisions against the Albanian language in this area to be just and proper. He said that the Albanian language is the language of communication in Macedonia and cannot be ignored. We demand that the Macedonian Parliament and authorities find a proper solution to this issue in a calm atmosphere.

Meanwhile, based on another request by reporters, Mr. Rugova assessed the assertions and writings on three governments of Kosova—one by Bukoshi, one by the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK], and one by Kacanik—as tendentious and vulgar. There is only one government, Rugova said. There is the LDK, the Coordinating Council of Political Parties, and others, who are separate, as he expressed himself on the occasion.

Reporters asked the president's opinion on what personal issues in several current polemics. The diversity of viewpoints and positive criticism are normal, Rugova answered, declaring himself against smears by some people who forget the situation we are in.

Seeking to create [word indistinct] and human character in these presentations, President Rugova said that it is necessary to carry out activities and actions to overcome such situations.

At this news conference, Rugova sent his inspiration to employees and journalists of RILINDJA and other journals on the occasion of 50th anniversary of their creation and their successful work.

New Route for Albanian Exodus Opened

95BA0127A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Jan 95 p 16

[Article by Branko Jokic: "Away From the Kind of Rights Guaranteed by the Serbian Authorities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In two months, 25,000 Albanians have left Kosovo on ferries going from Bar to Bari; Belgrade is trying to get as much as possible for "asylees" that would return from the West.*

From our correspondent.

Pristina, Podgorica, 12 Jan—In the two months since the reopening of Yugoslav air and maritime traffic, ferries and motor boats have taken more than 30,000 travelers from Bar to Bari. A reporter from the Podgorica weekly MONITOR who was on the ship Laburnum (it is supposed to be the property of a Portorog maritime enterprise, because all the crew is Slovene, and it has room for 1,200 passengers), found out some interesting facts. More than 80 percent of all the travelers are Albanians from Kosovo and southern Serbia. They are mostly traveling in just one direction, to Italy, and from there (if they get by the Italian border authorities) they continue on to Europe. They are all fleeing from the "human rights" that the Serbian authorities are prepared to guarantee them.

It is not difficult to calculate that approximately 25,000 Albanians left Kosovo by that route alone in two months. It is difficult to understand the mathematics of ethnic cleansing, but representatives of the political parties of Kosovo Albanians claim that more than half a million Albanians have left for various European countries and the United States in the past five years. These are primarily young people who either take their families with them or establish families abroad, and consequently it is unlikely that they will ever return. Even if they wanted to, many of them cannot, because they have been declared "military deserters" or political emigres, and consequently prison would await them upon their return. They are discreetly told this when they leave the country, before they are given regular travel documents, of course, for which they have to pay dearly.

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, which has that information, has found itself with new difficulties. It is asking the governments of European countries not to send the Albanians back (as was announced), which, to be sure, is also being done by the official Yugoslav authorities, though of course for other reasons. Two months ago the Swiss authorities announced the immediate expulsion of approximately 18,000 foreigners who do not meet the provisions of the new law on residence in Switzerland. The Yugoslav Government reacted immediately, giving "special guidelines" on the possibilities for former citizens to return to their homeland. It is not prepared to accept those who requested asylum in any other country, and that applies to almost all the Albanians (in Switzerland alone, there are approximately 6,000 of them). The government in Belgrade also added that there were approximately 200,000 former Yugoslav citizens in Western countries, of whom about 95 percent were Albanians.

Mahmed Hajzari of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo thinks that it is not an administrative decision but rather a political one, which constitutes ethnic cleansing and is part

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of "changing the ethnic composition of Kosovo." In connection with this, it is not clear to them why the government is trying to conceal the number of Albanians who have left their homes because of various forms of harassment. Academician Dr. Redjep Cosja, in fact, has information that it was not just 200,000 Albanians who fled from Yugoslavia, but rather three times as many. SDA [Party of Democratic Action] President Dr. Rasim Ljajic emphasized that they were also leaving Sandzak. Reportedly 70,000 Albanians have already left that province.

The European Foundation for Human Rights in Belgrade stated that the Yugoslav authorities were violating human rights by such provisions, but they do not care about such reproaches, and are turning back a large number of deported Albanians from the airports in Belgrade and Pristina. The decision really is "universal" (it applies to all former Yugoslav citizens), but it is rare that deported Serbs appear at the border. Also interesting are the rumors that the Serbian authorities demanded that Switzerland pay a one-year pension for each deported Albanian. That money would not be paid to the "former Yugoslav citizens," but would instead go into a state bank. Some agreements have allegedly already been concluded regarding this, because it is cheaper for certain European countries than providing housing and social welfare and health services to the asylees.

In any case, Belgrade does not like Albanians. If they performed military service, they would constitute a third of the army, and the Yugoslav authorities are afraid of that. We should not even talk about the "dangerous" birth rate, since not only the Serbs there are lost in it, but also all those who settled them in Kosovo. The only goal is displacement. If Serbia really does have to free the West of "false asylees," it will make a good profit from it.

There are four shipping firms sailing on the Bar-Bari route, and there will probably be even more of them because there is enough work for all of them. Albanian party leaders thus warn that Europe is becoming an accomplice in ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, even though it does respect human rights and supports a better position for Albanians in Kosovo.

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